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Phoenix rising : effects of the 1906 earthquake on California print culture

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PHOENIX RISING: EFFECTS OF THE 1906 EARTHQUAKE ON CALIFORNIA PRINT CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

PHOENIX RISING: EFFECTS OF THE 1906 EARTHQUAKE ON CALIFORNIA PRINT CULTURE

By Jessica L. Lemieux

The 1906 earthquake and fire destroyed San Francisco, one of the West's great cultural and industrial cities. This study examines the growth of California's print culture before the earthquake, focusing on the development of San Francisco's print culture by studying its literary movements, print industry, and libraries. This thesis presents the recovery of California's literary figures, publishers, print industries, and libraries in the wake of the disaster and analyzes the relative importance of San Francisco's print culture to California before and after the earthquake.

Though the earthquake affected newly established libraries up and down the coast, the devastation was concentrated in San Francisco. The destruction of the state's largest city left California without its primary center of print culture when three days of firestorms destroyed San Francisco's libraries, publishers, and printing shops. Each component of the city's print culture recovered at a different pace, according to the available resources.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Almost a century after the event, the 1906 earthquake and fire in San Francisco still capture interest and invite comparisons with other natural catastrophes, with the devastation wreaked by Hurricane Katrina on the Gulf Coast as the most recent example. Though the story of San Francisco's destruction and the reconstruction efforts has been amply analyzed and discussed by historians, popular writers, and even in the movies, the effect of the earthquake and fire on California's vibrant and growing libraries and print culture has not been examined.

As one of the older and certainly one of the most important cities on the Pacific Coast due to its position on the Golden Gate, turn-of-the-century San Francisco was a bustling city with a vibrant print culture, supported by several newspapers, publishers, writers, and public libraries. The vibrancy of this print culture was dependent on the concurrent growth of print producers and distributors as the city expanded. With one appalling stroke of destruction, the earthquake and subsequent fires destroyed the burgeoning print institutions, sparing only a few libraries and printers. This disaster disrupted not just the life of one city, but damaged libraries all over the Bay Area, causing setbacks in the growth of a library system that affected all of California.

During the years of reconstruction, San Francisco slipped from its central position driving print culture throughout California, allowing other cities to gain in prominence. Since each sector of print culture recovered at a different speed, the cooperative nature of San Francisco's print culture was disrupted. This change in the character of San

Francisco allowed the rest of the state to come into greater prominence. For example, under the direction of the state librarian, the county library system became firmly established in the years following the quake. The 1906 earthquake and fire did not provide a sudden downfall or allow one of California's other cities to take San Francisco's place as Queen City of the West; instead it accelerated larger, national-level processes already in motion to redistribute books and print culture more evenly throughout the state. This thesis will study the culture that existed in pre-earthquake California, describe the aspects of that culture that survived, and examine the way that the relief and rebuilding effort shifted the balance of library power in California. As such, this study will illuminate the role disaster can play in history and describe a transitional period in the history of libraries in California.

In examining the earthquake's effect on libraries and print culture in California, this thesis is organized into six chapters. This chapter provides an introduction to the topic and previous studies written about the earthquake, California libraries, San Francisco, and print culture. Since this study measures the earthquake's effects on a wide area, the second chapter will be a history of print culture in California up until the earthquake, describing the place of San Francisco and the Bay Area in relation to the rest of California. The chapter will also describe the San Francisco Bay Area just preceding the quake, particularly focusing on the place of libraries in the local culture.

The third chapter focuses on the destruction caused by the earthquake and, in the case of San Francisco, the subsequent firestorms. Though most of the libraries in the city were destroyed, not all were completely consumed. Outside the city of San Francisco,

many libraries throughout the state were damaged, causing a setback to the development of statewide library services, which was a particular goal of State Librarian Gillis. This chapter also describes the damage in detail and categorizes the types of damages and help needed for recovery.

The fourth chapter describes and analyzes the revitalization of the printing industry after the earthquake. It discusses the ways that print was used to spread information and misinformation during the relief and rebuilding efforts, and describes the recovery of San Francisco journalism immediately following the quake. The Relief Committee's sophisticated use of public print media demonstrates the importance of print in public life in the post-quake city.

The fifth chapter focuses on the rebuilding of San Francisco and California libraries and analyzes the differences between immediate responses to the earthquake and the long-term planning required to rebuild what was lost. This chapter also studies the growth of the statewide library movement and examines the shift away from San Francisco as the center of California library culture.

Finally, the sixth chapter provides a conclusion with a broad overview of the earthquake's effects and the relief efforts, discusses priorities shown by the decisions taken during the rebuilding process, and places them in the context of California history and the history of American natural disasters.

Literature Review

The 1906 earthquake is a source of perpetual fascination to many authors, and it has

been written about extensively both in contemporary accounts and in subsequent historical and scientific analysis. Likewise, the history of libraries in California has been a periodic topic in library and historical journals. However, the two topics have not been explicitly combined before; libraries are usually mentioned only in passing in histories of the earthquake, and library historians have used the earthquake as a convenient place to end or begin their narrative.

Several areas of scholarly study are related to the focus of this thesis: print culture, the intellectual and cultural history of San Francisco, the history of California libraries and librarianship, and the history of the 1906 earthquake and fire. The study of print culture, both within California and in general studies of print's effects on everyday life, demonstrates the importance of print and libraries in American history. California libraries and librarians, while they worked to foster a lively print culture on the frontier, have mainly been studied in the context of library history. This study will further illuminate their role in promulgating print and increasing its importance in the state. The intellectual and cultural history of California, and particularly of San Francisco, relates to this topic because of the importance of print and libraries in developing and fostering San Francisco's lively literary scene, setting the stage for an examination of what happened to that culture after the earthquake. And, finally, the history of the 1906 earthquake and fire is central to this study, though previous studies have excluded the topic of print culture.

Print Culture

Several excellent works have been written on the effects of print culture in society.

A dramatic example of ways print culture can influence society is provided by Robert Darnton (1984) in his study of printers in revolutionary France. Other historians of European print culture have provided eloquent examples of the power of print in society, examining its transformative power. In 1959, Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin (2000) established the importance of printed book as a tool for social change, saying it was "something more than a triumph of technical ingenuity, but was also one of the most potent agents at the disposal of western civilisation in bringing together the scattered ideas of representative thinkers" (p. 10). They described the rise of the book trade in Europe and demonstrated how print brought together ideas and allowed scholarship to expand. Elizabeth Eisenstein (1979) also discusses the printing press as a means of change, expanding her study in scope from the book to the printed word in general. She points out that the printing press produced a communications shift in an already literate upper class, then spurred the spread of literacy. Thus the printing press changed first the culture of the elite, then the culture of the common man.

Recent scholarship, building on the base of European book history, has illuminated the functions of print in American society. While printing represented a technological revolution in early modern Europe, it was an established and accepted technology by the time the United States formed as a nation, and had an integral part in American life. In *Cultures of Print,* David Hall (1996) describes Puritan printers and booksellers inhabiting a cultural common ground between the elite clergy and ordinary people, producing printed sermons and devotional literature with elements of literary sensationalism. He also points out that reading is not an autonomous act. Reading occurs in a cultural field,

and the practice must be studied in the context of printing, bookselling, book collecting, and authorship.

William Gillmore (1989) describes the way in which the cultural field itself can change because of reading. His study of rural New England farmers chronicles the transition from a tradition-based rural culture to a commercialized culture in increasing interaction with the industrial expansion in rest of the country. Gillmore's study shows the importance of print in a rapidly industrializing society, and the influence of the idea of progressive modernity on a small local culture.

The history of print culture is not simply the study of book production; it is the study of reading. *Reading in America* (Davidson, 1989) examines American literacy and popular reading in a multitude of ways. This collection of essays uses several analytical lenses to look at American reading habits. The authors consider how format affects reading by studying chapbooks and magazines, how race and gender determined literacy, and how distribution affects audiences by investigating publishers, book clubs, and mass media. By approaching the question of how books work in society in a number of ways, Davidson's work underlines the importance of scrutinizing the entire life cycle of a book, from author, to publisher, to distributor, and finally to the reader.

Another signficant collection of essays, edited by James Danky and Wayne Wiegand (1998), draws upon literacy studies, reader-response theory, and ethnography of reading to try to understand how print transmits ideas and affects thought and behavior. By focusing on specific publications published for limited readership, the authors are able to discern the community-building roles played by serials published by minority groups,

demonstrating the ability of print to build public community identity.

Another study uses diaries and publications of westerners to present the curious relationship between eastern and western print cultures in America. The diaries demonstrated that westerners were certainly reading and reacting to eastern news, magazines and books. Huntley-Smith (2002) uses western magazines and books to show the independent spirit of western pioneers, eager to promote their new territory and entice others to make the overland trek.

Print Culture in San Francisco

Much has been written about the intellectual and cultural life of San Francisco Bay Area and especially about its most famous authors: Mark Twain, Bret Harte, Jack London, Ambrose Bierce, Joaquin Miller and Ina Coolbrith. However, works more relevant to this study do not focus on the literary travails of a single author, but rather on the growth of a lively culture of printers and writers living in the Pacific's self-proclaimed Queen City. One such study is Walker's (1970) exploration the western literary frontier, tracing the growth of printing and authorship in early San Francisco. Walker describes the explosion of publication that followed the gold rush, as newspapers and literary journals were founded to inform and entertain the new population. Another sweeping book examines San Francisco's literary culture as a whole by describing the individuals involved in creating it. Ferlinghetti and Peters (1980) examine San Francisco's major literary figures, devoting a few biographical pages to each writer or editor included in their history (1980). The culture of the city was also supported by a network of social

clubs (Reinhardt, 1980), and social libraries, which were founded with the intention of promoting a civilizing atmosphere and drawing citizens away from the temptations of saloons and gambling (Luckingham, 1973).

Because San Francisco played such a prominent role in the early history of the state, California histories have also heavily featured key figures in San Francisco culture in order to depict the growth of the state. One example of such a history is Bean and Rawls's (1998) interpretive history which illustrates the early culture and literature of California by describing the authors of San Francisco. This bias towards the Bay Area in the state's histories is partially attributable to the work of two early California historians, both of whom lived in San Francisco: Hubert Howe Bancroft, whose history factory collated documents from all over the West to create the encyclopedic *History of the Pacific States of North America* (1882), and John S. Hittell, who wrote the *History of the City of San Francisco and Incidentally the State of California* (1878). These two great historians had extremely different approaches to writing history, but both reflected their love of San Francisco in their histories. And though Kevin Starr's (1973) history of early California does not focus on print culture, his narrative is peppered with publishers, educators and literary figures whose influence springs from the print culture they created. In doing so, they shaped California history.

San Francisco's literary and cultural history is necessarily related to the city's role as a center of printing on the Pacific Coast, since the presses, magazines, and newspapers gave an outlet to the city's budding literary culture and encouraged its growth. The history of San Francisco's publishers provides further insight into the city's print culture.

Imprints on History details the rise of several prominent publishing houses, and the impact they had on frontier communities, by describing the publishers themselves and providing summaries of the topics they published (Stern, 1956). The California section of Tebbel's massive *History of book publishing in the United States*(1972) is organized using the same principle: providing biographical details for San Francisco's most important publishers, Anton Roman and Hubert Howe Bancroft. Caughey's (1946) biography of Bancroft provides a narrative of Bancroft's life and describes the publishing industry in relation to Bancroft's endeavors.

Newspapers were an important part of San Francisco's publishing industry. San Francisco's journalistic history has often been studied through the lens of who the journalists were, as with Robinson's (1996) study of the Hearst family, or Breedlove's (2001) article detailing the work of women journalists in the *Hesperian*. Mark Hall (1971) summarized early California journalism by describing the owners and publishers of early newspapers. Other historians have described the community building effects of newspapers, especially among the city's ethnic minorities (Sun, 1998). In contrast to this publisher-centered approach, Philip Ethington (1994) studies the use of newspapers to create public identities and the ways in which print definitions of groups and ideals shaped the city around them.

San Francisco's publishers were supported by a vibrant printing industry. Some histories of California printers have focused on specific types of printers, such as Hendrick's (1964) study of the State Printing Office and school textbooks, or Harding's (1933) census of California Spanish imprints. Other studies have focused on the tradition

of fine printing. Barr (1931) wrote an extensive study of fine printers of northern California, listing each of the presses active from 1900 to 1933 and giving a bibliography of works for each press. Instead of focusing on the printing shops, Hart (1985) gives a brief history of each of the city's printers, describing their technical training and their aesthetics. Similarly, Harding (1973) organized his study of printing around one particular printer, Charles Murdock.

In general, works on San Francisco's print culture have focused on the questions of how print and reading influence their local societies, on specific print institutions, and on the goals of those who produce and promote the printed word. The histories written about San Francisco's intellectual and cultural history have been examinations of individual achievement rather than systematic analyses of the entire literary culture. No study has yet examined the interactions among the city's writers, publishers, printers and libraries to present an account of San Francisco's print culture as a whole.

Libraries and Print Culture

Library history has long been a means of studying the construction of cultural attitudes. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz's (1976) study of Chicago's cultural institutions, including libraries, outlines the works of "cultural philanthropy" by a class of businessmen eager to cure the social ills of their time. Though the merchants' attempt may have been unsuccessful, Horowitz's work chronicles their social goals and an understanding of the cultural ideal they meant to project, bringing the question of the societal goal of cultural institutions to historical discourse. Abigail Van Slyck studies the

works of the ultimate library philanthropist, Andrew Carnegie, in her 1995 work *Free to All.* Her study of library architecture demonstrates the broad range of social uses for American libraries as community centers as well as institutions of learning.

The influence of the public library on American culture and libraries' "civilizing" intent was the topic of a thorough study by Dee Garrison (1969). Garrison examines the library as an institution for urban reform that was specifically designed to cope with the problems of a newly industrial society and the emergence of librarianship as a service profession to combat those societal ills. Basing her analysis on the social ideals held by library leaders, she concludes that libraries were intended to be a conservative social force as well as a democratic one.

Joanne Passet (1994) further clarifies the central social role played by libraries in the American West in *Cultural Crusaders.* Passet places women at the center of library development in the West, and explains their role in community building. Female librarians used gender expectations to their advantage, assuming active roles as "civilizers" (librarians and teachers) in order to help shape their communities. The role of libraries promoting print in everyday life has also been examined by Christine Pawley (2001). Pawley's study of life in 19th-century rural Iowa describes the ways people read as individuals and in groups, and draws out the importance of the public library in a culture where reading was becoming an everyday activity.

California Library History

The development of libraries in California has been documented by several

historians, most comprehensively by Ray Held. His first book chronicles the beginnings of public libraries in California, starting with the first social libraries in 1849 and the general development of the library movement until the founding of the first public municipal library in 1878 (Held, 1963). He continued his history in a second work, concentrating solely on public libraries from 1878 until 1917. In this narrative, the 1906 earthquake gets a few pages' mention, mostly to chronicle the losses in San Francisco due to fire and note other libraries along the fault whose buildings were damaged (Held, 1973).

Other studies have generally had a lesser scope than Held's work, often focusing on a particular type of library within California. Geiger (1964) looks at the founding of the mission libraries, describing the importance of books to the friars, and compares their collections to books held in contemporary European Franciscan monasteries. Other historians have examined the place of social libraries in the city's early history, including the San Francisco Mercantile Library (King, 1978; Luckingham, 1978), and the Mechanics' Institute Library (Danton, 1951),

A sub-field of study within California library history is the study of individual libraries. Thus far, studies of library history in San Francisco have generally concentrated on specific institutions, and they have not touched on the earthquake; histories of San Francisco and Bay Area libraries tend to use the 1906 earthquake as a starting or stopping point. These histories, with narrow focus on local development, range from scholarly treatises on library development in a particular context, such as Joyce Backus' (1931) history of the San Francisco Mercantile Library, to Jane Ferguson's (1985) panegyric

pamphlet about the development of the San Francisco's Public Library, which presents its founders as tireless heroes in search of culture against the plebian politics of the city supervisors.

Studies centered on the history of particular libraries are ubiquitous throughout the state, such as Breed's (1982, 1983) narratives of the San Diego Library's beginnings. Other library histories include those of Stanford University Library (Hansen, 1974), and the Los Angeles Public Library (Cao, 1978; Los Angeles Public Library, 1980). These highly focused studies illustrate the history of individual libraries, but do not attempt to describe the development of trends or the state of libraries in general.

Local library histories have also focused on the accomplishments of individual librarians and their effects on the surrounding print culture, such as Mood's (1946) work on the role of Andrew Hallidie in galvanizing the public library in San Francisco, despite the meager budget provided by city supervisors, or the inclusion of California state Librarian James Gillis in Danton's (1953) work on library pioneers. The builders of the Stanford University Library have also received attention; Cole's (1991) book about the Stanford Libraries chronicles the development of its collections through private donations from prominent book collectors.

Earthquake

The 1906 earthquake and fire have been written about by a wide range of authors, from personal reminiscences of survivors to popular novels and scholarly works. The tragedy has even provided the basis for a 1930 movie, *San Francisco*, which is a love

story set with the disaster as a background. Personal eyewitness accounts of the disaster were published in the newspapers of the day and continued to be published for decades after the event, providing emotional and detailed perspectives of the effect of the earthquake on everyday life (Geissinger, 1977). Some histories of the earthquake simply narrate the progress of the catastrophe, repeating the statements of historical figures without question, such as the assertion that the earthquake did not cause much damage and the fire was the real source of damages (Olmstead, 1977). Other histories, especially those written for a broader audience, emphasize the heroism of individuals and the spirit that inspired the city to rebuild (Bronson, 1959; Dolan, 1967).

Scholarly works on the disaster have examined the event through a variety of analytic lenses. One of the first scholarly works on the earthquake was a combination of historical narrative and geological study, examining the effects of the earthquake after only one year and summing up the work done at the University of California and Stanford University immediately following the quake (Jordan, 1907). Another study of the earthquake focusing on the plight of San Francisco's Chinese population points out that the published history of the earthquake has thus far been populated with white merchants, ignoring the condition of the underprivileged and racial minorities (Pan, 1992). Other recent scholarly projects in earthquake history include oral histories collected by the San Francisco Public Library (Turner, 1981), which documented the memories of survivors in their own words, and work regarding the social conflict in the aftermath of the earthquake, including graft and an elitist relief committee ready to rebuild the city before it had dealt with the immediate problems of the refugees (Bolton, 1998).

The hundredth anniversary of the earthquake prompted the publication of several new books about the disaster. Denis Smith (2005), a former New York firefighter, provides a dramatic popular history of the firestorm, emphasizing the accomplishments of several San Francisco firefighters in his narrative. Another popular history used the 1906 disaster to provide a loose connection among diverse topics, discussing geology, turn-of-the-century politics, disasters in general, and the author's own reminiscences of San Francisco in the seventies (Winchester, 2005). Other more scholarly works delve into the primary sources and try to provide more in depth analysis, such as Philip Fradkin's (2005) recent book, which identifies a blame-the-fire attitude immediately following the tragedy and attributes its origin to the San Francisco elite who were trying to ensure that fire insurance claims were quickly paid so that the city could be rebuilt.

Overall, earthquake historians, whether they write for a scholarly or a popular audience, do not give much consideration to the plight of San Francisco's libraries or to the role of print culture in the city. One example of a typical attitude is in Dan Kurzman's (2001) book on the earthquake and fire; the only mentions of libraries are a passing mention of the Public Library's demise in a list of things destroyed when City Hall burned and a thank you to several librarians in the acknowledgments.

Each field of study outlined above contributes to this thesis. Broad studies of print culture indicate the power that the printed word has to change the culture of its readership and suggest methods of examining publications for their social functions. The intellectual and cultural history of San Francisco serves as a background for the events of 1906, and illuminates the culture disrupted by the disaster. The study of libraries as

agencies of print culture points out the importance of print institutions in times of cultural change. The history of San Francisco's libraries establishes their place in California's print culture. Studies of the earthquake provide an understanding of a dramatic event and the potential for cultural change.

Based upon this background, this thesis will examine the components of California's print culture and the way they changed in response to catastrophe, focusing on the city of San Francisco. Instead of studying the transformative power of print by examining one particular type of print institution, this thesis brings together a picture of the whole print culture of the West Coast's most prominent city. By taking a functional approach, this study breaks San Francisco's print culture into its component institutions and industries, asking questions about the relationships among the producers and distributors of print and about the values of San Francisco's leaders, who decided how reconstruction would occur, during a period of statewide and national change in the meaning of print in American society.

Conclusion

Drawing on multiple sources, this study will unite the disparate fields of earthquake and library history with an analysis of print culture. The earthquake provides a watershed moment in the history of the state, acting as a useful lens through which to view changes in historical perceptions of the social value of cultural institutions. The priorities set by state and city leaders as California recovered from the effects of the earthquake reveal the

cooperative strength in San Francisco's print institutions before the disaster, and the fragmentation of that unity as the city recovered.

By examining each of the facets of San Francisco's print culture and the relationships among them, this study will present a clearer picture of the uses of print in turn of the century California. The recovery of each component part of California's print culture illuminates a different story, a separate function of print in society. This study aims to analyze the relationships among these stories, to present a better picture of the whole of California's print culture in 1906 and gain an understanding of the importance of the printed word within the state.

Chapter 2

San Francisco, Queen City of the Pacific Coast

At the beginning of the twentieth century, California was still a young state, and San Francisco was one of its largest and busiest cities. Since the Gold Rush, San Francisco had been a bustling city, acting as the funnel through which commerce, capital, and industry spread to the rest of the state. The city of San Francisco began in 1776 when the Spanish established Mission Dolores and a presidio. It remained a small settlement during the Spanish colonial period, with large land grants encouraging Californians to settle widely on agricultural ranchos rather than concentrating in cities. More settlers began to arrive from the United States in the early 1840s, gradually increasing the size of the town (Hart, 1987).

California's population in 1848 was estimated at about 15,000 people, exclusive of Native Americans (Wright, 1940). The Gold Rush caused San Francisco's population to explode and drastically changed its relative importance to the rest of California. In 1846 San Francisco had about 1,000 inhabitants; in 1851 it had 30,000. By 1870 the population was almost 150,000 citizens (Hansen, 1995). This explosive growth is due to San Francisco's function as a port. The majority of California immigrants from 1851 through 1869 came by sea. Since San Francisco was the largest natural port and the closest port to the gold fields, California's burgeoning population had to come through the city.

Up until 1880, San Francisco was undeniably the largest and fastest-growing city on the West Coast. Twenty-seven percent of Californians lived in San Francisco in 1880.

The city was far larger than its nearest rivals, but its growth began to slow. After the transcontinental railway was finished in 1869, it became the transportation medium for most California immigrants, and the relative importance of San Francisco began to subside (Wright, 1940). In the 1880s and 1890s, other Pacific cities such as Los Angeles, Portland and Seattle began to grow, threatening the city's position as the biggest population and manufacturing center on the Pacific (Kahn, 1979).

San Francisco's past is often romanticized, ignoring the role that the city played in directing mining and industry in the late nineteenth century. Environmental historian Gray Brechin (1999) demonstrates the role that San Francisco played in developing California's natural resources, drawing wealth from the Sierra Nevada and concentrating it in San Francisco. The port gave the city a distinct advantage in amassing wealth, just as it had with population. Since miners had to go through San Francisco to get to the gold fields, they bought their supplies in the city. Almost overnight, San Francisco became the major trade city on the Pacific Coast. The growing economy needed savings and lending institutions, so banks began to establish themselves. As California's gold production tapered off in the late 1850s, these banks became more important to the city's economy. When the Comstock Lode was discovered in 1859 and capital was needed to extract the silver, San Francisco's bankers rushed in to invest (Bean, 1998). The city's economy kept adapting to take advantage of the natural resources around it: first gold, then silver, then manufacturing and the railroad, each playing a part in building San Francisco into an imperial city.

With this consolidated wealth, San Francisco quickly built itself up as a

manufacturing base and a commercial center on the Pacific. Even while miners were rushing through the city to the placers, canny merchants and manufacturers were setting up shop in San Francisco to supply them. With the Atlantic manufacturing centers 3,000 miles away, San Francisco's manufacturers did not have much competition for customers. San Francisco's industrial base grew quickly to supply the needs of California's major industries. The city's industrialists made mining equipment and agricultural machinery and canned and preserved the state's agricultural produce (Kahn, 1979).

San Francisco's role as an industrial power allowed it to quickly obtain the technical expertise and equipment necessary for printing. Printing became one of its major industries (Kahn, 1979). The accumulation of capital was necessary to fund education for writers and to support libraries to distribute their works. The combination of industry, intellect, and cultural institutions that produced and distributed books enabled a lively print culture unrivaled in California before the 1906 disaster.

San Francisco's literary culture in the late nineteenth century has been the subject of numerous studies. Famed writers such as Mark Twain, Bret Harte, Ambrose Bierce, and Joaquin Miller helped shape the culture of San Francisco and California through their writings in the 1850s and 1860s. Some writers spent only a short time in California before moving on, such as Richard Henry Dana, Jr., but most stayed and spent years perfecting their craft in the Bay Area before leaving. San Francisco's many literary journals provided the opportunity to write, and a burgeoning community of writers took advantage of it, particularly during the 1860s (Walker, 1939). San Francisco's position as the major port city with access to the gold fields meant that it was able to support its

literary culture with wealth and leisure, frontier stories to form subject matter, and plenty of publications in which to write.

After the completion of the railroad, San Francisco lost some of its famous literary figures to the East Coast and abroad. Twain, Bierce, and Miller spent much of the 1870s as expatriots (Ferlinghetti, 1980). New writers moved to California and began writing outside the Bay Area. Mary Austin wrote *The Land of Little Rain* while living in Inyo county, Helen Hunt Jackson evoked an idealized Spanish world in Southern California in 1884 with *Ramona,* and Charles Lummis began promoting the virtues of Southern California in 1895 in his magazine *Land of Sunshine.* The growth of literature outside of San Francisco did not leave the city without creativity, for a new bohemian movement took shape around Robert Louis Stevenson and Charles Stoddard in the 1880s. Bohemia itself became the subject of literary creativity in the 1890s work of Gertrude Atherton, Frank Norris, and Jack London. At the turn of the century, literary San Francisco was alive and well again, with talented writers working in and around the city (Starr, 2005).

San Francisco had more than writers and journalists. It established a strong printing and publishing industry to promote Californian and western authors. In part this industry grew because of the distance from the literary center in San Francisco to the printers and publishing houses on the East Coast (Hart, 1985). Though westerners certainly read books and magazines published in New York and Boston, they also quickly developed a publishing industry and exported western publications eastward (Huntley-Smith, 2002). In comparison, Southern California had limited book publishing before the late 1870s, consisting of newspapers, job printing, and an occasional volume (Tebbel,

1972).

Several of California's earliest publishers started their businesses as booksellers before they began producing their wares. Anton Roman was one of the most prominent of these. Roman emigrated to the United States from Bavaria as a youth and crossed the plains in 1849 as one of the many gold seekers. After working the diggings at Scott Bar, Roman made his way back to San Francisco in 1851 and purchased books. He traveled back to the gold camps and began selling them to the lonely prospectors. After a period of itinerant bookselling and setting up shop in Shasta City, Roman moved back to San Francisco in 1857 and began selling to the more stable population of the city as well and sending books out to the miners (Stern, 1956).

Roman chose his book stock carefully to suit the needs of California's burgeoning population. Roman's catalog contained books on history, biography, theology, architecture, science, agriculture, and voyages. He also carried Bibles, fiction, literature, and medical books (Roman, 1860). When he saw a need that he could not fill with books published elsewhere, he began his career as a publisher. One of his earliest titles was a lecture on the history of California, given by Edmond Randolph to the Society of California Pioneers. Roman realized that newcomers to California would be interested in its history, and he continued to publish books that would fill that need (Tebbel, 1972). Roman's career as a publisher lasted until 1888, when he transferred his business interests to real estate. After serving for over 30 years as a publisher and spending 18 years in real estate, Roman died in a train wreck in 1903 (Stern, 1956).

Another remarkable bookseller-turned-publisher arrived in California about the

same time: Hubert Howe Bancroft. Bancroft was born in Ohio, the son of a farmer and a teacher. Bancroft's education stopped short before college when he moved to Buffalo, New York, at the age of 16 to learn the book trade from his brother-in-law. He first came to California in 1852 with a consignment of books, and in 1856 he opened his own bookstore in San Francisco with financial help from his sister and other creditors in New York. His business was very successful and quickly expanded to include stationary, office supplies, printing, and bookbinding (Weber, 2000). His financial success allowed him to become a collector of Californiana beginning in 1859. Convinced that California's history was inextricably connected with that of the American West and Mexico, Bancroft expanded his collection inexorably until it included material with subject matter that stretched from Alaska to Panama. After collecting trips to the East Coast, Europe, and Mexico, Bancroft turned his attention to putting his library to use; he began to organize a way to write a history of the American West.

Bancroft's success running his business, divided up into nine orderly divisions (Huntley-Smith, 2002), led him to organize his library and his history company along the same principles. Instead of assembling notes from his collections himself, which was the approved method of writing history up until that point, Bancroft hired assistants to take notes on sources and even write drafts. One of the main criticisms of Bancroft's works by his contemporaries is rooted in this method of history-making. Bancroft approached his project as if he were running a history factory: he bought books and manscripts as if they were raw materials, hired workers to process them by taking notes, and oversaw the whole process from a managerial position. He retorted to his critics that the task he had

set for himself was impossible for one man to write, because the topic was too large. Bancroft was writing a "scientific history," one which took *all* of the available data into account, not just the amount manageable by one historian in his lifetime (Caughey, 1945).

Ever the savvy businessman, Bancroft also innovated a way for his history to support itself and even make a profit. He sold his works as a set, by subscription, so that buyers were steadily infusing money into the project to produce the later works. This idea helped ensure that Bancroft's histories are not very rare, though they have long been out of print (Caughey, 1946). In total, Bancroft published 39 volumes of his *Works* over a period of eight years, from 1882-1890 (Caughey, 1945). This remarkable history project demonstrates the vitality of San Francisco's publishing industry; few business communities could support such a massive undertaking. The subject matter for the Bancroft's work was a similar demonstration, this time of cultural relevance. Bancroft's exhaustive history of the West is a cultural declaration that the West and California are as worthy of examination as the East.

Bancroft and Roman were by no means the only publishers in San Francisco. James Hutchings followed a career similar to those of Bancroft and Roman. Hutchings also came to California in 1849 and had some success in the mines. After losing his gold fortune, he opened a bookshop. In 1855 he began to publish a popular lettersheet called *The Miner's Ten Commandments*. Based on that success, Hutchings began publishing his *California Illustrated Magazine* the next year, which he ran successfully until 1861 when he retired (Tebbel, 1972).

As the city grew, publishing companies began to establish themselves separately

from booksellers. Some companies established just to publish a particular journal, such as the Sunset Press Company, famous for its magazine, and the H. S. Crocker Company which published city directories. San Francisco's publishing industry was not limited to books. Literary journals were founded in the height of the Gold Rush and quickly became a fixture in the city's print culture. The *Golden Era* was the first of these literary enterprises, established in 1852 and running until 1893. It published a mix of news, gossip, poetry and stories by local authors. Its popularity inspired numerous competitors, including the monthly *Pioneer* (1854-1856), *Hutching's California Magazine* (1856-1861), and the women's journal the *Hesperian* (1858-1863). These journals provided a forum for California writers to perfect their craft and celebrate the beauties of their state (Ferlinghetti, 1980).

Newspapers were another significant portion of San Francisco's publishing industry. San Francisco had several popular daily papers in 1906: the *Call*, the *Bulletin*, the *Chronicle*, the *Examiner,* and the *News*. During the 1850s, an average of seven English-language newspapers started publication each year. San Francisco had enough demand to support this explosion of journalism: though it was the nation's ninth-largest city in 1900, it had the third-highest per capita circulation rate. These newspapers shaped the public discourse and the political life of the city, identifying popular issues and conducting raging debates. The papers were highly partisan; the *Examiner* was always Democratic and the *Chronicle* always Republican. Since newspapers were the best form of mass communication available at the turn of the century, candidates absolutely depended on the press to spread their message (Ethington, 1994).

The printed word not only described California and San Francisco and promoted it to those living in the East, it also helped shape communities and the politics of the state. San Francisco was an immigrant city, with large populations that did not speak English. These immigrant populations developed their own sense of belonging and community by establishing local papers in their own languages. Thirty-six foreign language newspapers, published in Chinese, French, German, Spanish, Hebrew, and Italian, informed and united San Francisco's ethnic minorites during the Gold Rush (Ethington, 1994). Such newspapers not only provided links inside the ethnic communities, they also notified ethnic groups of their role in California politics and the world beyond the Gold Rush (Sun, 1998).

Print had a role in the way that new California communities grew, as newspapers publicized new towns and regions in their stories (Huntley-Smith, 2002). Journalists not only chose which towns to write favorably about, but they also shaped the municipal governments by framing the public discussions. Newspapers were used as weapons in the political discourse, especially when the Progressive party began its takeover, accusing the incumbent government of San Francisco of graft (Starr, 2005). Hannah Arendt and Jürgen Habermas have defined the concept of the public sphere, the world of communication where the identity of the society forms (Habermas, 1977). This public sphere was particularly important in San Francisco, where to run for office and to run a newspaper were almost synonymous (Ethington, 1994).

Just before the earthquake, the city of San Francisco had a multitude of printing shops, bookbinders, publishers, and booksellers. Bookstores were particularly numerous;

San Francisco had 64 of them in 1905 (Langley, 1905). With so many booksellers, some of them began to specialize by subject area, like the Bancroft-Whitney Company, Bender-Chaquette Company, Reuben Moses Bookstore, and the West Publishing Company, all of which sold only law books. Other booksellers began to specialize in Californiana, like Robert Cowan. He sold California books, periodicals, and manuscripts to libraries and private collectors (Cowan, 1906).

Along with the bookstores, associated print industries also flourished. Printing began in California in the 1830s, when the first printing press arrived in the state. The press was originally ordered by traders in the Sandwich Islands, but after they failed to purchase it, its ship stopped in Monterey and the press was sold to Don Agustin Zamorano in 1833 (Hoyt, 1956). Using the press, Zamorano printed government documents and small books. General Mariano Guadelupe Vallejo moved it briefly to Sonoma for his own use, but the press returned to Monterey in 1840. After years in storage, Walter Colton and Robert Semple used this press to print the state's first newspaper, the *Californian*, beginning in August of 1846 (Harding, 1933). In 1847, Sam Brannan's Mormon colony brought another printing press to San Francisco, which was used by Edward Kemble to print the *California Star*. A third press arrived in San Diego in 1851, brought by John Judson Ames ("Meetings," 1932). These three presses began to establish California's new print culture. The Gold Rush quickly accelerated the growth of California's new printing industry and concentrated it in the city of San Francisco.

With the influx of miners through the city came great demand for printed news and steam presses to print it on (Huffman, 1955). In the 1850s, there were already 50

printers in the San Francisco, and the city proclaimed in the middle of that decade that it published more newspapers than London (Walker, 1970). As San Francisco grew older, and printing more established as a profession, young typesetters began to arrive and influence the style of publications in San Francisco. One of these was Charles Murdock, who arrived in San Francisco in 1868 in his twenties and began printing stories written by California authors. He collaborated with Gelett Burgess to put out the magazine *The Lark* from 1890-1897.

Another young typesetter who made his mark in San Francisco was John Henry Nash. He moved from Canada to California in 1895 at the age of 24. Nash's printing was skilled and beautiful, and he became famous for including Art Nouveau flourishes in his type. After working for several San Francisco print companies, he founded the Tomoyé Press in 1903 (Hart, 1985).

Related industries also thrived in San Francisco. The city hosted a type foundry as early as 1862, freeing California printers from dependence on the Atlantic coast. Several professional engravers set up shop in the metropolis, supplying illustration for printers all over the state (Huffman, 1955). The binderies served both publishers and libraries, binding new books and periodical sets. The Hicks-Judd bindery, one of the largest in the city, served as a bindery for libraries all over the state. In 1905 San Francisco boasted 37 binderies and 201 book and job printers (Langley, 1905).

San Francisco's job printers had an impact on city politics almost as great as that of its newspapers. Since these small printing shops were not tied to producing a particular publication every day, they were available to produce the printed circulars,

speeches and pamphlets that formed the basis for working-class political movements. Those who could not afford to start a newspaper could pay for the printing of short pamphlets expressing their ideas. One of the first successful labor parties in California took full advantage of these small presses: the Workingmen's Party of California. Denis Kearny, one of the party's founders, was a fiery orator. He combined the rhetoric of class and virulent invective against the Chinese to build the a successful labor party throughout California. The party printed pamphlets containing his speeches and distributed them to the city's working classes. Support for the Workingmen's Party spread quickly based on these short arguments that could be easily and widely distributed. The movement gained strength throughout the 1870s, and the *Chronicle* began covering its issues and was the party's mainstream support. The movement came to an end only when Kearny became so dictatorial and controlling that he alienated labor leaders and other supporters (Ethington, 1994).

While San Francisco had long been building up the ability to write and publish books and journals, it had also been developing an excellent means of distributing them to its citizens: libraries. The first libraries in California were the mission libraries and the private libraries of educated Californios such as Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo (Geiger, 1964). After the population explosion during the Gold Rush, libraries began to be established in the cities, but these libraries were not the tax-supported municipal institutions that we associate with the term library today. These early public libraries were social and club libraries. A social library was usually formed either as a proprietary institution, in which members could purchase stock to gain part ownership of the

collections, or as a subscription association, in which dues were collected in exchange for library privileges (Held, 1963).

Tax-supported public libraries began to appear in California in the 1870s. The legislature enacted special legislation to allow the city of Los Angeles to establish a tax to municipally support its existing public library in 1874. However, since this law allowed only the city of Los Angeles to tax itself for library purposes, more legislation was needed before municipal libraries could spread throughout the state. The Rogers Act provided the legal basis for free municipal libraries in 1878. Under pressure from library activists in San Francisco, the Rogers Act included special provisions to establish a new public library in San Francisco as well as provisions allowing other towns in California to establish taxes to support public libraries (Held, 1963). The Rogers Act allowed functioning society libraries to convert into municipally supported institutions. After this law was passed, several older California communities converted their existing social libraries. However, it was not until the late 1880s that the growth of California library communities began to take off. Starting in Riverside, cities began to establish library associations and then transfer control of the collections to the city. By this method, most of the state's larger cities had established libraries by 1900 (Held, 1973).

Libraries held a prominent place in the image that western communities were trying to project at the beginning of the twentieth century. The city of Portland, Oregon, promoted itself as a modern city supplied by the railroad and possessed of beautiful civic amenities in an article published in *Sunset* magazine. The article listed the city's public library as an attraction alongside its social clubs and government buildings (MacDonald,

1906). San Francisco was particularly eager to shed its reputation as a hurly-burly Gold Rush town and claim a place as a city of culture and refinement. San Francisco portrayed itself as the "Paris of the West Coast" (Reedy, 1933), and one of the city's department stores on Geary Street even went so far as to call itself the City of Paris Dry Goods Store. Libraries played an important part in claiming this cultured image for the metropolis. When founding libraries, their organizers often cited an educational or civilizing mission. An early catalog of the San Francisco Free Public Library declares its expectations of genteel behavior in very certain terms, stating that "the library being frequented by ladies and gentlemen, suitable good manners are required by all who enter it" (San Francisco Free Public Library, 1882, p.1). All over the country, libraries were counted among schools, churches, and homes as great factors in modern civilization. William Faunce, president of Brown University, put it clearly in a 1906 address to the American Library Association (1906) at the association's Narragansett Pier Conference:

> The modern library has in some places become a true school; in other places it has radiated something of the refinement for which we once looked to the home, and something of the idealism which is the peculiar gift of the church. The library is vastly more than a collection of books; it is a social, civilizing, moralizing force. (p. 18)

With aims as high as these, it is unsurprising that San Francisco prided itself on its libraries.

The Mercantile Library similarly made its educational intent and societal goals clear in its founding documents. In a flyer circulated on the founding of the library in

1853, the board of trustees noted the importance of giving young men the "means to avail themselves of their own apartments and proper society, in which they may pass their hours of leisure or recreation." They promised that by donating their publications to the library, learned institutions will "minister to the moral necessities of our community, they will at the same time place within the reach of their friends in a distant country the means by which their moral and intellectual condition may be improved" (Turner, 1853, p.1). The Mechanics' Institute, established shortly afterwards in 1855, adhered to similar principles of providing access to books and lectures for the purposes of adult education (Meyer, 1964), though its focus was on technical expertise rather than the liberal arts focus of the Mercantile Library. Another prominent San Francisco institution, the Bohemian Club, states in its certificate of incorporation that its purpose was "the promotion of social and intellectual intercourse between journalists and other writers, artists, actors and musicians, and others associated by reason of knowledge and appreciation of polite literature, science and the fine arts" (Bohemian Club, 1907, p. 22-23).

Just as Portland used its library as an asset to civic boosterism, so too did San Francisco. As early as 1876, the city used libraries to project part of an overall picture of refined taste. *Lights and Shades of San Francisco* (Lloyd, 1876) describes the Mercantile, Mechanics' and Odd Fellows' libraries in the same loving detail as the city's theaters, restaurants, banks, industry, paved streets, and modern fire department. This sense of the library as a source of culture and civic pride did not dissipate over time. When the main branch of the Free Public Library was running out of space in the city

hall, trustees campaigned for a bond measure to build a separate library building. They phrased their appeals for votes in terms of civic pride, asking for a library worthy of the city and pointing out that other western cities had library buildings (Lilienthal, 1903). San Francisco wanted to be a progressive city, not one that had fallen behind.

At the turn of the century, San Francisco was one of the largest cities on the West Coast, and it had an interesting mix of libraries and other cultural institutions to support its aspirations to be "Queen City of the Pacific" (Levy, 1906, p. 1). In 1905 San Francisco's public library was bigger than any other public library west of St. Louis (Libraries, 1905), and it had long prided itself on the "solid reading" its patrons were doing, noting in an early report to the library trustees that the percentage of fiction paged and checked out (50%) was much less than the typical 75% lamented in other libraries (Moulder, 1881). San Francisco was at the center of the library world in California, though it was not in the capital or the geographic center of the state.

Before the earthquake, the distribution of libraries throughout California was very uneven, naturally concentrated on population centers on the coast in the Bay Area and in Southern California. In the *News Notes* gathered and published by State Librarian James Gillis in early 1906, 25 libraries were listed as open to the public in San Francisco, 15% of the 165 libraries listed for the entire state. Adding in the other eight Bay Area counties, communities around San Francisco held 34 libraries, another 20% of the state's libraries. Altogether, the Bay Area had 35 percent of the libraries in the state, all of which were threatened by the 1906 earthquake. In April 1906, Los Angeles County had almost as many libraries as San Francisco, but unlike San Francisco, the libraries were municipal

libraries. San Diego County also had a small concentration of established libraries, with six free public libraries. Sacramento, in contrast with San Francisco and Los Angeles, had only three libraries listed in *News Notes* (California State Library, 1906).

The public library was not the only library available to the citizens of San Francisco. The city had numerous social libraries and club libraries that were at least partially accessible to the public. The types of institutions in San Francisco ranged both in size and subject specialization, from the tiny Reading Room for the Blind with only 400 braille volumes to the Mechanics'-Mercantile Library, which held 200,000 general interest and reference books on a broad range of subjects. The city prided itself on its position as a leader of industry and culture on the West Coast and had club and social libraries to support a wide range of specialized study. There were scientific and professional libraries to support the needs of industry and innovation, such as the State Mining Board, Law, Academy of Sciences, and County Medical Society libraries, and there were libraries that supported the city's desire for culture like those of the Bohemian Club, the Ligue Nationale Française and YMCA (Langley, 1905).

The city also housed libraries that would today be considered archives or special collections. The Bancroft Library held original manuscripts and oral history transcriptions documenting the growth of California as a state, while the Society of California Pioneers and the California Historical Society libraries also collected pioneer diaries and rare Californiana. San Francisco institutions were also responsible for keeping federal and state records; the California Supreme Court was located in San Francisco at the time of the earthquake (Langley, 1906), and though clerks frequently

duplicated the records and sent them to Sacramento (Gillis, 1903), the loss of current court records was a problem for the state later on. All of these specialized institutions added up to an extremely large, diverse, deep, and unique collection of knowledge, centered in the city of San Francisco. With the addition of the libraries of the University of California in Berkeley and Stanford University in Palo Alto, the Bay Area had a diversity of library collections unrivaled anywhere else in the state, even considering the proliferation of municipal libraries around Los Angeles.

The power of Bay Area libraries within the California library world becomes more apparent when examining the relationships among California libraries. A rudimentary form of interlibrary loan service sprang up just prior to the earthquake, based on personal relationships of prominent librarians throughout the state. An early demonstration of this loan service occurred between a private library and a subscription library. Matilda Bancroft wrote to Horace Wilson, librarian of the Mechanics' Institute, asking to borrow Audubon's works on birds and quadrupeds, one volume at a time, so her employees could extract notes for Hubert Howe Bancroft's history project. Wilson used his influence with the board of trustees and was able to grant Bancroft's request for a loan (Wilson, 1886). State librarian James Gillis's correspondence shows frequent requests to and from George T. Clark, librarian of the San Francisco Public Library and Melvin Dodge, assistant librarian at Stanford, setting up long-distance loans of particular books (State Library Records, F3616:101, 107-109). Stanford's annual reports document a similar cooperative spirit, noting each year which institutions had lent books to Stanford. In 1904 the list included the State Library, the University of California, the Mercantile Library, the

Mechanic's Institute, and the San Francisco Public Library. Outside of California, Stanford had borrowed books from the Chicago Public Library, Cornell University, the Newberry Library, and the Library of Congress (Dodge, 1905).

This impressive list shows that though Stanford was able to borrow books from afar, the Bay Area and San Francisco itself met most of Stanford's borrowing needs. Thirty-four of the 50 books borrowed from other libraries were from San Francisco and Berkeley. An additional two came from the State Library in Sacramento. The preeminence of San Francisco on this list is at least partially due to the relative ease of shipping books around the Bay when compared to that of shipping them across the country, but the list also shows the growing sense of library community that existed in the Bay Area before the earthquake. The absence of other California libraries is also notable, because it shows the degree to which the balance of library power rested in the Bay Area.

The California Library Association provides further insight into the shifting balance of library power within California. The California Library Association was organized in 1895. Arthur Jellison of the Mechanic's Institute in San Francisco, George T. Clark of the San Francisco Public Library, and J. C. Rowell of the University of California issued the call to organize. The California Library Association held all of the meetings for the first year in San Francisco (Clark, 1930). Up until the earthquake, librarians from the Bay Area dominated the organization's discussions and meetings. In fact, State Librarian James Gillis was the first president of the association from outside the Bay Area when he was elected in 1906 (Clark, 1930).

Not only was the board dominated by Bay Area librarians, they also monopolized

the meeting sites, until the earthquake forced the association to move its meetings elsewhere. The first annual meeting to take place in Southern California did not occur until 1907, at Redlands. Several important Northern California librarians did not attend because they were busy trying to rebuild their libraries (Gillis, 1907). Though their absence was understandable under the circumstances, it represented a missed opportunity for statewide collaboration in the rebuilding process and delayed the desired extension of cooperative relationships with Southern California librarians. Before the Redlands meeting, the annual meetings and the quarterly board meetings were always held in northern California. The dominance of the Bay Area over the association is particularly apparent in the relationship with James Gillis, who had to travel to San Francisco for meetings even when he was president because the quarterly meetings were held in San Francisco as a matter of course (Gillis, 1906a).

The rest of the American library community also considered the Bay Area important within California; the 12th annual meeting of the American Library Association had taken place in San Francisco in 1891, the first time the event had taken place in California (American Library Association, 1891). When the famous and well respected Librarian of Congress Herbert Putnam came to California, it was San Francisco he visited, and he was invited to speak there to a meeting of the California Library Association. Putnam's visit occasioned a dinner given in his honor, and the invitees were all Bay Area librarians except Gillis and Lauren Ripley of Sacramento (Clark, 1905a).

San Francisco's power within the California library community was well established, but it was not unchallenged. The period just before the earthquake

introduced exciting changes to the California library world. In 1899 the board of state library trustees appointed James Gillis as state librarian. Gillis was appointed to his position despite his lack of library training, but he used the position to improve and change the State Library, modifying state law so that he could expand the scope of services offered to the general public. Prior to 1903 statutes prohibited the State Library from circulating its collections except to state officials (Held, 1973).

With this restriction removed, the State Library changed rapidly, setting in motion a sweeping plan to broaden library service all over California. Gillis began by setting up a traveling library program, shipping small cases of carefully selected books out to communities that did not have a library. Cases were selected by prominent librarians, and communities could request a case with new books once it had safely returned a case to the State Library (Clark, 1903). This program provided the base for encouraging formation of public municipal libraries in small towns as well as in the cities, by getting citizens used to the availability of free books and the responsibility of returning them to the deposit stations. This traveling library program was so successful that it germinated new ideas, such as distributing school textbooks to poor rural communities on the same model (Lichtenstein, 1905). The program lasted until budget cuts eliminated it in 1911. In the eight years of service, the program sent the traveling libraries out to 510 communities (Held, 1973).

The State Library did not stop with the traveling libraries. In the fall of 1905, Gillis hired library organizers. They acted as library evangelists, traveling throughout California, drumming up library spirit, and encouraging communities to set up free public

libraries. This program spread the knowledge of how to set up a municipal tax to support a library, where to purchase library equipment and books, and the services available from the State Library (Gillis, 1906b). The travels of these organizers, Bertha Kumli and Mabel Prentiss, resulted in a wave of new municipal library openings in 1906 all over the state.

Carnegie grants also played a role in the rapid expansion of California libraries. Andrew Carnegie, iron and steel industrialist, provided grants to build 2,811 library buildings in the English-speaking world, and 1,946 of those libraries were in the United States (Wall, 2000). Carnegie designed the conditions of a grant to ensure that his philanthropy would be both wanted and continually useful; he issued grants only when the community receiving the library building agreed to levy a tax specifically to support the library (Van Slyck, 1995). In California, Carnegie's philanthropy fed the establishment of municipal libraries all over the state.

The first Carnegie grant in California was to San Diego in 1899, followed swiftly by grants to Oakland and Alameda. By the time the library philanthropy program ended in 1917, 120 communities in California had received grants. The Bay Area was particularly eager to take advantage of this opportunity, and 12 of the 47 Carnegie grants given before the earthquake were located around the San Francisco Bay (Miller, 1943). Carnegie's generosity meant that California communities could open municipal libraries with a smaller investment, paying for collections and staff rather than buildings. This funding, combined with the State Library's library organizing program and civic pride, led to the rapid establishment of libraries all over the state.

Another significant sign of the changes ahead in California libraries was the advent of library education on the West Coast. The Public Library in Los Angeles opened a training school for librarians in 1891 in an effort to "fit young women of their own communities in the complicated routine which has become a necessity less from the number of books than from their activity" (Lummis, 1906, p. 203). This training school gradually expanded and eventually supplied the new libraries springing up all over California with professional workers. This school represented a bold break for California libraries, both as a means of professionalizing library work and as a means of breaking California's dependence on the eastern United States for library leadership. The oldest American libraries and library schools were on the eastern seaboard, but that was no longer going to prevent California from providing its own librarians. Unfortunately for the rest of the state, from 1901-1914 the training program was limited to those who were working in the Los Angeles Public Library (Held, 1973).

Following the lead provided by Los Angeles, the University of California also established a six-week training program for library workers. The university established this program in 1902 and repeated it in 1906, 1907, and from 1912 to 1918, when the summer course was replaced by a year-long course of study. The State Library also tried to establish a training course, paying for the school out of the library's funds from 1914-1918. The Sacramento library school effort eventually ended when the legislature rejected Gillis' attempt to secure funds because the Senate felt that a library school should be run by the state university rather than the State Library (Held, 1973).

Los Angeles Public Library, under the leadership of Charles Lummis, was quite

consciously ready to challenge San Francisco's position before the earthquake. The history of the Los Angeles Public Library is even longer than San Francisco's: Los Angeles founded its public library in 1872, while San Francisco founded its public library in 1879 (California State Library, 1906). Not only was it actively training new librarians in its classes, but Los Angeles had accomplished what San Francisco had not: in March 1906 it moved the collections into a new library facility, separate from other civic buildings. In *Out West* magazine, Lummis proudly declared Los Angeles' circulation to be higher per capita than any other American library and pointed out that even disregarding the city population and looking at actual circulation, San Francisco had circulated fewer books in 1905 (Lummis, 1906). Los Angeles also introduced the concept of qualifying exams for public librarians. These exams would help ensure professionalism and basic skill and knowledge levels for California librarians (Held, 1973). Los Angeles Public Library began its civil service program in 1890, and it was so successful that the practice spread to other city offices and became municipal law in 1902 (Lummis, 1906).

These new developments in Sacramento and Los Angeles placed San Francisco in an interesting position in the California library world before the earthquake: strong but no longer dominant. The city had the largest concentration of both books and experienced librarians on the Pacific and was supported by a vibrant library community in the surrounding region. San Francisco's libraries and librarians were active participants in improving library programs throughout California, both by sharing their collections with other libraries and by sharing their expertise in professional associations.

The state's two greatest universities at the time were physically close to the city and had close ties to it; the Stanford trustees met in San Francisco up until the earthquake and kept many of the records of the university at the Stanford mansion on Nob Hill, which was later destroyed in the fire (Crothers, 1906). The University of California naturally maintained ties to the city across the bay and was keeping its newly acquired treasure, the Bancroft Library of western Americana, in San Francisco until the campus could build a suitable home for the collections. Berkeley also aided San Francisco after the earthquake, creating refugee camps on California Field and sending its cadets to the aid of the city after the earthquake to help keep the peace (Cheney, 1974). With this supportive community behind it, the city of San Francisco could lay claim to a high position within the California library world. However, the establishment of large collections in Sacramento at the State Library and in Southern California at the Los Angeles Public Library meant that San Francisco was not the sole source of great libraries within the state, and the innovations in Sacramento and Los Angeles show the decrease in San Francisco's power within the library world.

The new developments of professional standards and education meant that for all the concentration of wealth, librarians, and collections in San Francisco, the city was no longer the single driving force in California libraries. New centers of library power had sprung up in Sacramento and Southern California, with the State Library's many initiatives to spread and sustain library development throughout the state and the vital role filled by the Los Angeles Public Library's training school. San Francisco, while still mighty, had competition both in terms of collections and of innovations in librarianship.

With the State Library's county library program beginning to spur the founding of new libraries all over the state, collections and access to books were spreading library power more evenly throughout the state. San Francisco's libraries had become one concentration among many.

If this trend had been allowed to continue uninterrupted by the earthquake, San Francisco may have held onto its dominant position a little longer. However, when the earthquake and fire destroyed most of the city's collections, it took away one of the city's greatest advantages over other California libraries. Bay Area librarians were for the most part unharmed, but the disaster diverted their energies from innovation to rebuilding. Thus, the trends set in place before 1906 by Sacramento and Los Angeles were even more important after the earthquake than before, and the balance of California library power shifted more quickly than it otherwise would have.

On the eve of the earthquake, the Queen City of the West had reached dizzying heights of cultural achievement. At the beginning of the twentieth century, San Francisco still held the unique combination within California of wealth, cultural institutions, industry, and creativity that had maintained its lively print culture for the first half century of California statehood. The metropolis held the creative minds to write and the technological skill to print as a means of creating a print culture. It also had well-established libraries to distribute print. However, San Francisco was no longer the sole source of literature nor the sole focus of industry. The city's position of power over the state's print culture began to change slowly with the advent of competition both in publishing books and periodicals and in distributing them through the state's library

system.

Chapter 3

Destruction

California has a long history and familiarity with earthquakes and fires. Earthquakes are described in the earliest accounts we have of California history, the oral tradition of Native Americans. Earthquake appears personified and godlike in the oral tradition of the Yurok as it was recorded by U.C. Berkeley anthropologists in the 1920s and 1930s. Earthquake and Thunder argue and race up and down the coast, their footsteps filling with water to create lagoons (Kroeber, 1976). Spanish priests also noted earthquakes in their explorations of the California coast as they established the missions, describing the length of the shaking by the time it took to say their prayers (Crespi, 2001).

Before 1906, earthquakes twice disturbed the city of San Francisco since it became a bustling metropolis in the Gold Rush. In October 1865, the San Andreas fault ruptured. This quake centered in the Santa Cruz mountains, and it shook San Francisco, causing chimneys, windows, and stonework to fall. The United States Customs House in San Francisco, considered "by competent judges as one of the most superior and substantially built structures erected of the Pacific Coast" (Cofran, 1865, p.1), sustained considerable damage to its plaster and brickwork, demonstrating the vulnerability of even the most solidly constructed buildings. Mark Twain witnessed the quake, and it provided the background for his satirical piece, "Earthquake Almanac," published in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (1865). Another earthquake occurred in 1868, this time centered on the Hayward fault on the east side of the San Francisco Bay. Thirty people were killed,

six of them in the city of San Francisco. Within the city, damage was greatest on the "made land" by the bay. As San Francisco grew, the city deposited dirt and debris from construction into the bay, to fill in land and allow development. This resulted in loosely packed soil that liquefied dramatically during earthquakes and shifted out from under the buildings above (Fradkin, 2005).

San Francisco also experienced periodic fires in the period between its founding as a city and the 1906 disaster. Fires were a constant danger in a closely packed and quickly constructed city lit by candles and later by gaslights. Fires burned the few valuable buildings in the city on Christmas Eve in 1849. The city rebuilt, only to succumb to flames again three times in 1850, on May 4, June 14, and September 17. 1851 provided no respite. A three-day firestorm started on May 4, consuming 16 blocks and 1500 structures. Like the fires that followed the 1906 earthquake, the 1851 firestorms destroyed about three quarters of the city, and brick buildings that were designed to be fireproof were burned amid the thunderous roar and the winds created by the heat of the flames (Fradkin, 2005).

These early earthquakes and fires led San Franciscans to establish an excellent fire department and to celebrate the construction of the few buildings in the city designed to be fireproof, like the Palace Hotel. After the fires in 1851, the city created a system of water pipes and cisterns which had been used to successfully combat fires before 1906 (San Francisco Fire Department, 1906). However, these preparations could not save the city from the scale of disaster awaiting it.

On April 18, 1906, at 5:12 in the morning, the San Andreas fault ruptured about

six miles beneath and slightly south of the city, below Lake Merced in southern San Francisco and the northern San Mateo County coastline (Fradkin, 2005). The shaking was unusually violent and lasted for approximately one minute. Eyewitnesses heard rumbling noises, saw undulations in the ground, and were thrown from their beds. Chimneys fell, and landslides were caused on steep slopes. The destructive force of the earthquake was terrifying. When Professor George Malcolm Stratton of the University of California asked his students in 1919 to recount whatever they remembered of the event, he received vivid descriptions that clearly portray the fear felt by Californians during the quake. One of these students, who was eight years old at the time of the quake and lived in Berkeley, reported that he thought it was the end of the world:

> My first impression of the earthquake was an immense horrifying war, hardly a war as we think of them, but a combination of all the infernal sounds possible. I awoke and in the faint morning light saw the furnature [sic], pictures, windows and walls doing a grotesque movement which in this advanced day and age may be likened to the more vulgar form of the students' Friday evening delight - the shimmy. Now as a young and tender child I had been sent to a Methodist sunday school and my idea of the day of final reckoning was fairly well developed. My heart went into my throat as I thought, or hardly even thought rather sensed that this was that arid time come to pass. It's fine to laugh about it now, but it was no joke at the time. (Colby, 1919, p. 1)

Witnesses perceived the shock waves in California, Nevada, and southern Oregon,

and the earthquake caused destruction from Humboldt Bay to King City in Monterey County (Lawson, 1910). Disasters were reported up and down the coast, with cracks appearing in the earth, landslides, and damaged masonry. On the southern end of the San Francisco Bay, San Jose lost many buildings to the quake. At Agnews State Hospital poor construction caused the building to collapse on top of the inmates, trapping them in the rubble ("Great earthquake," 1906). On the northern end of the bay, Santa Rosa lay in ruins after suffering from both earthquake and fire ("Dreadful catastrophe," 1906).

In San Francisco, the effects of the earthquake were particularly devastating, not simply because of its proximity to the rupture but also because of the way in which the city had been built. As the city grew in the decades leading up to the quake, land from building sites had been dumped into the bay to fill it in and create new ground for development. This made land was particularly vulnerable to the quake, and foundations built into it suddenly wrenched out from underneath the buildings on top of it. Similar buildings fared better if they were built on solid ground. Albert Reed (1907) described the difference in his report to the National Board of Fire Underwriters:

> On the solid ground the action was confined to shaking, in which the upper parts of structures were apt to experience a maximum oscillation. In soft ground there were permanent displacements which resulted in a distortion of the lower parts of structures where foundations did not go through to solid ground ... [buildings with foundations on solid ground] show but slight change of level although the streets adjacent have sunk away. (p. 1)

Even structures built in solid ground were damaged by the earthquake. In some places the earth simply sank, taking the lower stories of buildings with it below street level. In other places the ground twisted, wrenching houses from their foundations and causing them to lean. Great undulations and cracks appeared in the streets, breaking cable car and railroad tracks. The common small wooden-frame buildings suffered worst in the earthquake because their foundations twisted out from underneath them. Frame buildings with masonry foundations or lateral bracing fared slightly better; chimneys and masonry fell and some roofs suffered. Insurance agencies devised a class system to describe building types which is useful to summarize the earthquake damage. Class C buildings had brick walls and wooden partitions, floors, and posts. Churches and libraries often used this construction type. This class of building fared moderately well if properly constructed but many of this class were damaged because of weak mortar. Class B buildings, with brick or masonry walls, steel or cast iron posts, and steel girders, came through the earthquake fairly well. An example of this type of building was the Palace Hotel, which stood with little damage after the earthquake, though it later burned in the fire. Relatively rare Class A buildings, with steel frames and non-combustible floors and partitions, came through the shaking best of all (Committee of Forty, 1907).

The earthquake itself caused an amazing amount of damage to the city's buildings. Reports written after the disaster emphasized the damage done by the fire and stressed that buildings that were solidly constructed came through the initial earthquake without much damage (Mississippi Glass Co., 1907). However, most of San Francisco's structures were not the expensive Class A and B buildings extolled by the Relief

Committee, Board of Fire Underwriters, and Mississippi Glass company. Much as they wanted to build the city in an earthquake-proof and fireproof manner, San Francisco's citizens were not so wealthy. The most common type of building in the city was the cheap wooden frame that fared badly in both quake and fire, and brick and stone buildings were likely to have shoddy mortar holding them together. The most spectacular example of a stone building that fell during the earthquake was San Francisco's City Hall. Completed just a few years earlier in 1899, most of the magnificent building fell in around its dome during the earthquake (see Figures 4-5).

Though the earthquake was shocking and caused significant structural damage, the fires that followed it caused the most devastation to the city's print institutions. The fires began to erupt immediately following the quake, due to a number of causes. Jesse Brown Cook, a police officer who was on duty at the time of the earthquake, reported seeing a fire immediately after the shaking stopped as he was trying to return to the station house. The fire started when packing straw in a grocery store fell through the floor during the earthquake and dropped onto hot wires in the basement (Cook, 1935). The fire spread quickly in the wind.

The earthquake in San Francisco on the morning of April 18, 1906, started more than 50 fires throughout the city. The fires were almost as terrifying to witnesses as the earthquake. A San Francisco woman wrote a letter to her niece a month after the fire, describing the way refugees passed information about the fire to each other as they fled, telling each other which fires were spreading and which buildings had already been destroyed. The fire was all encompassing as she made her way to the ferry to escape the

city.

> There were blocks upon blocks of flame. When the fire died out on one side for want of something to feed on, it spread just so much more - on the other. The crackling + roaring of the flames and falling walls, with the blasting at intervals kept me on the jump all night long and by morning I was about tuckered out. They had finally got the fire confined to buildings east of Van Ness by razing a strip of houses a block in width all along the burning district with dynamite. The heat was so intense it blistered my face and hands and the cinders were thick everywhere. (Bertha, 1906, p. 8)

The earthquake had broken the fire alarm system, so the Fire Department began to search their precincts immediately after the earthquake, looking for fires starting in broken gas lines, damaged furnaces, power plants, and fallen or cracked chimneys. The officers were able to stop many of these small fires on the morning of April 18, but because the fires were so widespread, the firemen could not contain them all. By noon on the first day, fires had begun to join together above Market Street. During the night, the fires crossed Market Street into the Mission District. The second day, April 19, saw the spread of the fire up to Van Ness Avenue, north of Market Street, and to Twentieth and Dolores Streets in the Mission. Another fire started at Van Ness Avenue on April 20 and burned eastward, joining the fire from the north which burned to North Beach (Kennedy, 1908).

The constant frustration of the fire department was the lack of water. In report after report from firefighters stationed all over the city, the story was the same: they simply needed more water. The system of cisterns allowed them to successfully defend

some buildings, but in general there was too little water reserved in them to quench a large fire. When water ran out, the fire department tried to pump water through multiple fire engines and hoses from the sewers, the bay, and any wells in the vicinity (San Francisco Fire Department, 1906).

The most disastrous firefighting technique used in April 1906 were explosives to blast firebreaks. Though this technique may have been successful if used properly, there were two problems with the way it was practiced in San Francisco. First, the blasts were not strategically planned. The Fire Department and the Army, both trying frantically to combat the flames, set charges wherever they could, sometimes without taking advantage of the wide streets to act as firebreaks. When rubble fell into the streets, it acted as a bridge for the fire rather than a barrier. More importantly, the explosives used to combat the conflagration were the wrong type. Black powder from the Army stores was used instead of dynamite, and when it exploded it ignited the woodwork of the buildings being blown up, starting more fires instead of stopping them (Fradkin, 2005).

Though the city was prepared for a fire and was familiar with earthquakes, it did not have a means for dealing with both at once. The fatal lack of water that crippled the fire department's efforts was due directly to the effects of the earthquake. The shock created over 300 breaks in the water mains and 23,000 smaller water pipes. All of the supply mains leading into the city from the storage reservoirs ruptured. As a result, the firefighters were left only with the water still in the pipes and in the cisterns, not nearly enough to fight the multiple fires that sprung up from broken gas pipes and crumbled chimneys. Unchecked, the fires combined into a firestorm and burned an area covering

521 blocks (almost 5 square miles) and 28,188 structures, including 42 fireproof Class A buildings (Committee of Forty on Reconstruction, 1907). In general, the city was damaged by both earthquake and fire, though the real devastation was caused by the fire. Class B and A buildings that had survived the earthquake burned during the fire, perhaps because of the absence of fire shutters to protect the flammable interiors (Committee of Forty on Reconstruction, 1907). The buildings that were most susceptible to both types of damage had wooden frames, common throughout the city. Shoddy masonry and weak mortar caused damage in brick and stone buildings which might otherwise have survived.

Though San Francisco's buildings suffered in the disaster, its literary figures were largely unaffected by it. Some of Northern California's most prominent writers at the time of the earthquake, including Jack London and Joaquin Miller, lived elsewhere in the Bay Area rather than in San Francisco itself. Charles Warren Stoddard, who had been Mark Twain's secretary and a fixture among the San Francisco literati in the 1860s, had recently returned to California from living abroad and teaching in Washington D. C., but he had settled in Monterey (Gale, 2000). Other members of San Francisco's literary heyday were likewise absent; Twain and Bierce had both moved away in the 1870s, and Frank Norris and Robert Louis Stevenson were already deceased in 1906.

Even the writers who were in San Francisco at the time of the fire escaped, though their lodgings did not. Mary Austin was visiting the city at the time but escaped as the fire crept toward her lodgings. She later wrote an excellent narrative of her experience of the disaster, published in Stanford President David Starr Jordan's book about the earthquake (Jordan, 1907). Gertrude Atherton was also staying in the area, across the bay

at the Berkeley Hotel. Awakened by the roar of the earthquake and the crashing of china and masonry falling, Atherton jumped out of bed to stand in the doorway. Her hotel was damaged but still inhabitable, and she nonchalantly joked with the other guests about the earthquake (Atherton, 1932).

The disaster had a much greater effect on San Francisco's printers and publishers. Like the city's literary figures, the printers and publishers themselves were able to flee the fire. Unfortunately, a printing press is much more difficult to carry than a writer's mind. Many of the city's small print shops were clustered on Clay Street in the downtown area (Langley, 1905). The shops and the valuable printing equipment in them burned when the fires swept the downtown. Publishers fared no better. Bancroft's bookstore and printing plant on Market Street burned down. John Henry Nash left San Francisco when his press was destroyed (Hart, 1985). Charles Murdock was awakened by the earthquake and headed downtown to his shop on Clay Street immediately after breakfast. When he arrived the workshop was undamaged, but the fire was only a few blocks away. He determined that there was no way to save his printing plant and decided to haul away the plates for a new law book he was printing, which were packed and could be moved before the fire hit. He then went outside and surveyed the scene and later described it in a printing journal:

> The streets were filled with frantic printers. Someone at Bosqui's (opposite) had managed to coax a small stream of water, and fatuous friends wanted to shake hands in congratulation at my escape, but I felt it premature, and doubt was soon certainty. The fire came up Clay Street

> and shop after shop was swallowed. Before noon all was engulfed. As I reached Kearny Street at Clay I saw flames pouring from every window of the Claus Spreckels building, across Market Street, which stood like a lighted candle in the distance. (Murdock, 1933, p. 186)

Murdock's lighted candle in the distance was the Call Building, built by Claus Spreckels. This building was the grandest icon of the importance of print to the city of San Francisco. The *Call* was written and printed inside the largest building downtown. The structure's ornate exterior demonstrated the profitability and power of the newspaper produced inside. Located at the corner of Market and Third Streets, the tall and elaborate structure was a commanding presence in the downtown area. At 18 stories high, it was the tallest of about 40 steel-frame buildings recently constructed in the center San Francisco. Due to its steel frame, the magnificent building survived the earthquake intact, only to burn later (Kahn, 1979). Though the structure was supposed to be fireproof, the fire gutted the inside of the structure and left only the outer shell standing after the firestorm subsided. The outside of the Call Building was cloaked in protective stone, but the fire entered the building via a tunnel connecting the building to a powerhouse across the street. Once inside, the fire rushed up the elevator shaft, which acted like a huge chimney, and flames leaped out of the cupola (Fradkin, 2005). Photographs depicting firemen trying to direct a paltry stream of water onto flames bursting from the Call Building have provided some of the most memorable and dramatic images of the fire.

San Francisco's newspapers were clustered on Market Street. Though the Call

Building was the tallest monument to journalism, the Examiner and Chronicle Buildings were both located on Market Street. The Examiner Building crumpled into a heap as it burned alongside the Call Building (Telegraph Office, 1908). The *Chronicle* was located across Market Street, and the editors began to prepare an extra edition for publication as the Call Building was burning, hoping that the fire would not be able to jump the street. When they tried to print, the presses could not be started for lack of water. Then the wooden roof of the Chronicle Building caught fire and the flames burned their way down to the gallery. As the floor of the gallery gave way, tons of zinc poured onto the linotype machines on the floor below. The combined weight of this mass sent the presses crashing through the floors into the basement, destroying the entire interior of the building.

The *Bulletin* was housed just a block away, on the corner of Post and Kearny, and it did not take long for the fire to reach it. None of the buildings survived the fire, and the pressless newspapers had to unite and borrow the presses belonging to the Oakland *Tribune* across the Bay in order to get a paper printed on April 19. Only one paper within San Francisco was able to print an edition on the day of the earthquake; the *News*, located on Mission. After printing this extra, their building also burned, leaving the city without a newspaper (Quinn, 1940).

The fire that was so deadly to the printers and publishers of San Francisco was even more brutal to the city's libraries. The earthquake had more far-reaching effects; seismic waves caused damage in libraries up and down the state, from Ferndale Public Library in Humboldt County to Pomona College Library in Claremont near Los Angeles, though the damage was concentrated in the Bay Area. Of the 165 libraries in California at the time

of the earthquake, 50 libraries (30%) were damaged in some way by the earthquake (California State Library, 1906). Damage reported to the State Library ranged from cracked plaster and books lost at the bindery to total destruction of library buildings and burned collections.

The destruction within the city of San Francisco was devastating, especially to the cultural institutions tightly clustered in the downtown area. Of San Francisco's 25 public libraries, just one escaped structural damage: the Cooper Medical College Library lost only 43 of its 7,400 volumes. The few books it lost were at the Hicks-Judd Bindery during the disaster; the popular bindery burned to the ground in the three days after the quake, causing many libraries located far from San Francisco to lose collection material (California State Library, 1906).

Though the earthquake did terrible damage to most of the library buildings in the city, the real damage to the city's cultural heritage was done by the three days of firestorms following the quake, which destroyed San Francisco's unique collections. Only a few other libraries besides the Medical Library survived the fire. The California State Mining Bureau Library, located in the Ferry Building, emerged with only cracked plaster. Four branches of the Public Library were outside the fire zone and thus saved their collections but had to deal with major structural damage to their facilities. The Bancroft Library, with its 60,000 volumes on California and western history newly purchased by the University of California, was awaiting removal to the Berkeley campus at the time of the earthquake. This library survived the disaster with bricks shaken loose and crumbling

walls. The fires consumed about 70% of library books in the city (549,143 volumes), and destroyed 22 of the 25 institutions listed in *News Notes* (1906). Joy Lichtenstein of the San Francisco Public Library described the scene to *Library Journal*, emphasizing the future prospects of the rebuilt city.

> We are still in the ring, if a little the worse for the wear. You would not know us just now, but wait until you see the new San Francisco....The spirit here is wonderful, and if no reaction comes it ought to be Chicago over again. But the ruin is well-nigh complete. Over half the town in area and probably nine-tenths of the productive part of it is gone -- absolutely level with the ground. ("Destruction," 1906, p. 213)

The rest of the Bay Area's libraries fared better, since they had to contend with earthquake damage alone and were not threatened by fire. With a few notable exceptions, the earthquake damaged Bay Area library buildings but left collections intact. Small portions of Bay Area collections suffered fire damage because they were in San Francisco, either at the bindery or checked out to patrons who were in the city. Structural damage ranged from falling walls to cracked plaster. Most damage could be repaired, with estimates for cost ranging from $20 in Niles to $69,000 in San Jose.

Even when structural damage was total, the collections escaped almost untouched. Conversely, the library facilities that withstood the earthquake in the Bay Area seemed to be the ones unfortunate enough to have collection materials lost when the Hicks-Judd bindery burned. The University of California in Berkeley lost 1007 volumes in this manner, as did the Lick Observatory on Mount Hamilton, the Oakland Free Public

Library, and the St. Helena Free Public Library. About a quarter of the 34 Bay Area libraries outside of San Francisco were in between these extremes, with relatively minor, reparable damage like fallen chimneys and cracked masonry. Outside of the Bay Area, damage to library facilities was minimal. At Pomona College in Claremont and in San Juan, Santa Cruz, and Stockton, library facilities escaped with only slight damage, typically cracked plaster.

Several libraries noted lucky escapes in their reports to the State Library, making the best of a bad situation. In San Mateo, the city authorities condemned the library building after the earthquake, but the report cheerfully noted that they were about to start construction on a new Carnegie library anyway. In Mountain View, the building was completely destroyed but there was very little damage to the collections (California State Library, 1906). F. G. Graves of the Alameda Free Public Library noted that not only had their library escaped structural damage, but their collections were completely undamaged because the bindery returned the books that had been in San Francisco on the day before the earthquake (Graves, 1906).

Stanford University Library was worse off than most other libraries in the Bay Area. In April of 1906, construction was just being completed on a new library building on the outer quadrangle (Hodges, 1906), one that was to relieve the cramped quarters in the Thomas Welton Stanford Library and serve the needs of the university for years to come. Stanford University completed the grand design for this building by combining the plans of two architects, Day and MacKay, under the watchful eye of Jane Stanford before her death in 1905. It was a monumental structure, like the Memorial Church,

Memorial Arch and gymnasium buildings also recently completed at Mrs. Stanford's behest. The newly constructed massive buildings crumpled under the force of the earthquake, forcing the university to suspend operations and postpone graduation until the fall (Jordan, 1906). Through the quick thinking of a worker at the physical plant who turned off the power, the campus was not threatened by fire, but the proximity of the fault destroyed Stanford University as thoroughly as flames had damaged San Francisco.

The earthquake damaged both of Stanford's libraries. The Thomas Welton Stanford Library building, completed in 1900, suffered considerable earthquake damage. The team of professors and engineers charged with examining the campus and recommending repairs noted that although the building was still standing due to its steel reinforcement, it had been severely wrenched. Interior walls cracked badly, pulled away from the outside walls and fell down. A large section of the Reading Room ceiling was missing after the earthquake, floors were badly cracked, chimneys fell, and the roof was structurally unsound. The report recommended rebuilding interior walls, strengthening joints and roof trusses, and general repairs, and estimated the cost of needed work at $9,100 (Schulze, 1906). Though it had been open every day except Sundays up until the earthquake, the library had to close and restrict borrowing all summer so that temporary repairs could be made. The summer's quick repairs allowed the library to reopen in the fall at the same time as the rest of the university (Dodge, 1906b).

The grand new library building commissioned by Jane Stanford was irreparable. The dome, with its steel framing, survived in good condition, but the swaying of this central core during the earthquake wrecked the rest of the building. The foundations also

survived up to the level of the water table, but everything above ground fell. The report could only recommend that any reconstruction would have to adhere to new construction standards. If reconstructed, they recommended changing the design to eliminate arches not needed for strength. The framing for the galleries would also need to be redesigned to bring load to points of support. They noted the concrete portions of the foundation could be reused, but that was all that was salvageable (Schulze, 1906). The University was fortunate that its collection was not in this building at the time of the earthquake, where it would have been crushed. Unfortunately the cost of replacing this building forced Stanford to make do with the already overcrowded Thomas Welton Stanford building until 1919.

San Francisco was not the only city that suffered the effects of fire after the earthquake. Santa Rosa, San Jose, and Fort Bragg also burned. According to the State Earthquake Commission report compiled by Andrew Lawson (1910), the damage in Santa Rosa was the worst compared to its size and population. "Santa Rosa first claims attention. This city, with a population of 6,700, suffered relatively more than any other place in California" (p. 199). Sixty-one people died and the business section of the town was destroyed. Eight blocks were destroyed by the earthquake, and another four or five by fire.

The earthquake caused severe damage in the residential area of Santa Rosa, as chimneys fell down or cracked. Twenty houses were thrown to the ground as their foundations shifted and collapsed. The town suffered many of the same devastating effects recorded on "made ground" in San Francisco, though not because residents had

been actively filling in the stream running through the town. Santa Rosa was, unfortunately, built on a low-grade alluvial fan, and the soil was filled with groundwater because of early spring rains. This meant that foundations did not sink through to the bedrock and led to spectacular structural gyrations during the earthquake. Multiple eyewitnesses reported the same observations to the Earthquake Commission; the buildings along Main Street swung wildly before moving up and down and crumbling to the ground (Lawson, 1910). Caught in the violence of the earthquake, the ruin of Santa Rosa's beautiful new Carnegie library was one of the worst examples of library damage outside of San Francisco.

Santa Rosa's librarian, Adele Barnett, reported the damage in two successive issues of *Library Journal.* The first report, published in May 1906, tersely reports that the library escaped fire damage so the collections were intact ("Destruction," 1906). The second report, published in June, provides a better idea of the damage. Like Stanford, Santa Rosa's newly completed library had escaped fire, but unlike the university, the collections were inside the building when it fell. Barnett reports that only one stone building in the town was more damaged than the library. The library's tower fell inward onto the California Room, crushing it into "a pile of stone and mortar, not a thing to be seen that looked like a book" (Barnett, 1906, p. 292). She recounts that she was able to save the library's back files of the *Sonoma County Democrat,* pulling them battered but useable from the rubble. This find was particularly important because the offices of the newspaper had burned in the business district fire, and the library's copy was the only one left in the town. The east wall of the library was cracked and unstable and would have to

be taken down and rebuilt. The book shelves were broken and bent, and there were holes in the roof. The only undamaged portion of the Santa Rosa library was the basement. So after boarding up the holes in the roof and removing the rubble, Barnett intended to move the collection to the basement and reopen there in May (Barnett, 1906, p. 292).

Though San Francisco and California were inured to natural disasters, the combination of earthquake and fire proved too much for the safeguards put in place to protect buildings all over the state, especially in San Francisco. Because the fireproof buildings did not live up to their name and the water mains broke in the earthquake, San Francisco faced devastation on a scale that eclipsed even the 1871 Chicago fire in the national consciousness. The impact of the disaster on the rest of the state was made worse by the extent of the damage and by San Francisco's central role in banking, government, and commerce.

In the aftermath of the earthquake and fire, print culture sustained damage throughout the state. The destruction of downtown San Francisco had wiped away the single greatest concentration of print producers and distributors in California. The loss of the library collections meant that small libraries throughout the state could no longer look to established San Francisco libraries for advice and loans. Damage to libraries throughout the Bay Area meant that the network of relationships, carefully built among San Francisco libraries and the surrounding supportive communities, were broken as each library tried save its resources to rebuild. The destruction of San Francisco's many bookshops meant that once again Californians had to turn eastward to order the books they needed. The loss of the large and small presses in San Francisco had reduced the

amount of literature California could produce. The hope of the state rested firmly on the shoulders of the survivors, who were determined to reclaim their communities and rebuild them. Within the city itself, print institutions were devastated and the links between each part of San Francisco's print culture were destroyed. Writers, publishers, printers, booksellers and libraries confronted different degrees of damage. Since each of the components of San Francisco's print culture had disparate resources available for recovery, each component rebuilt separately. The earthquake disrupted the balance created by half a century of mutual growth, causing an uneven recovery of the city's print culture.

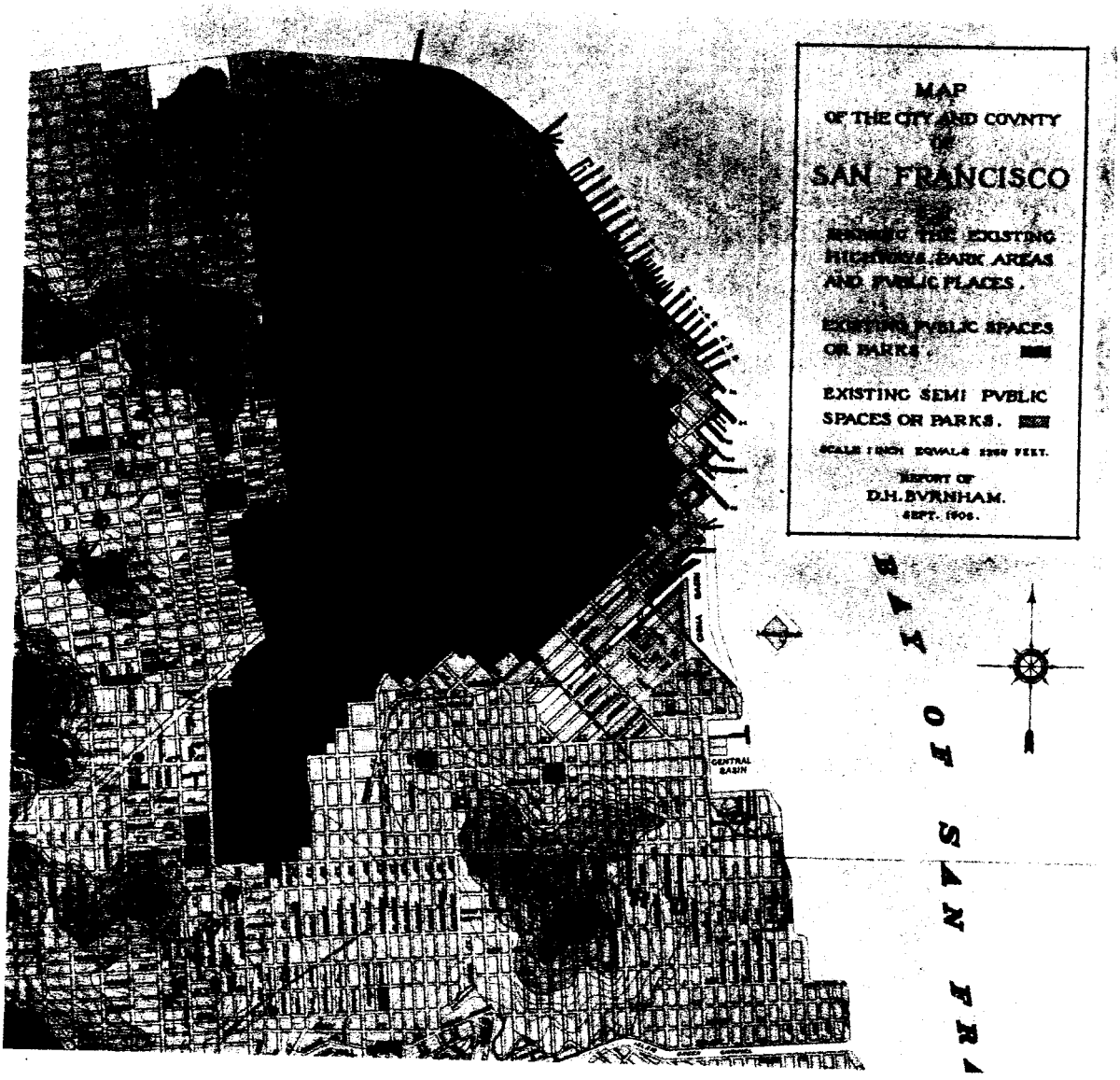

Figure 1. Map of the Burned District, Showing Distribution of Libraries

Figure 2. Call Building Burning, Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

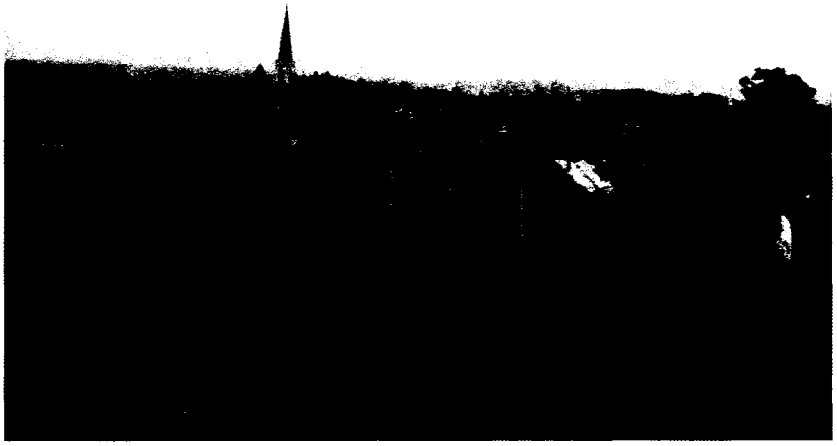

Figure 3. Broad View of Ruins of Town, Santa Rosa, Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

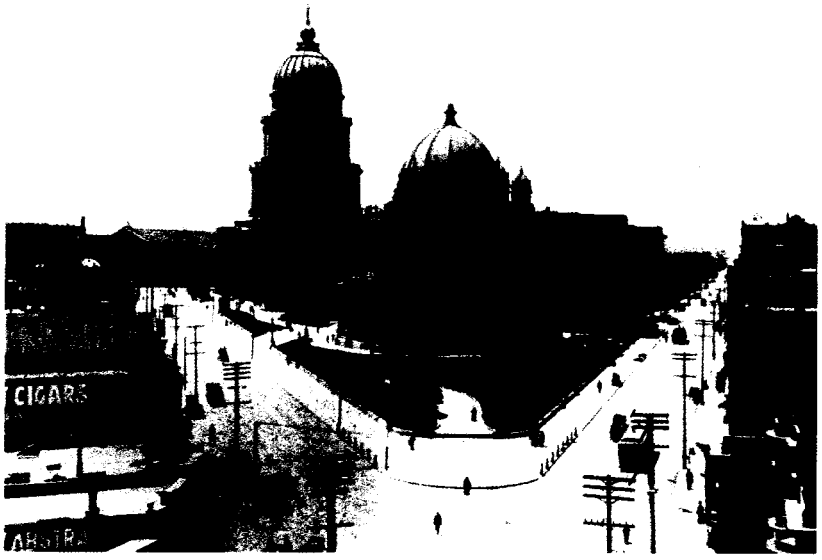

Figure 4. City Hall and Hall of Records, 1899, Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

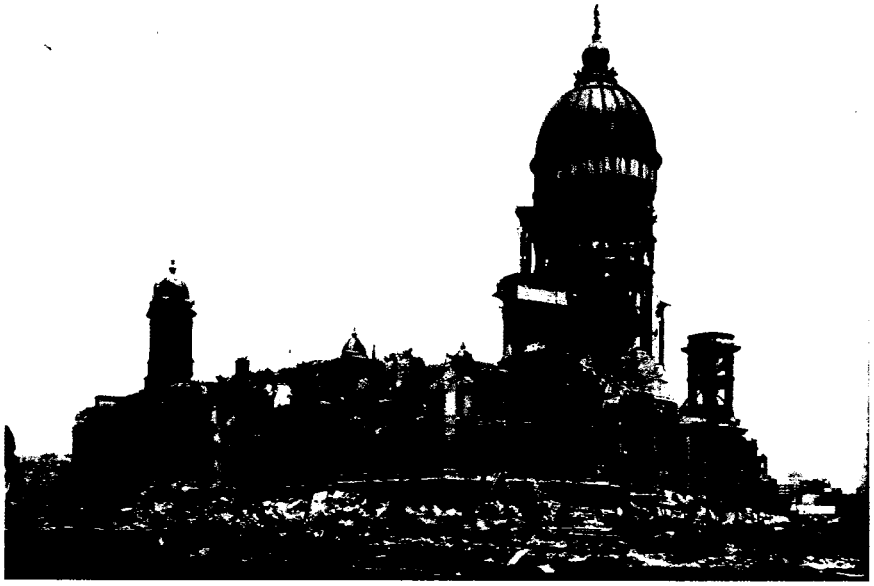

Figure 5. City Hall, 1906, Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

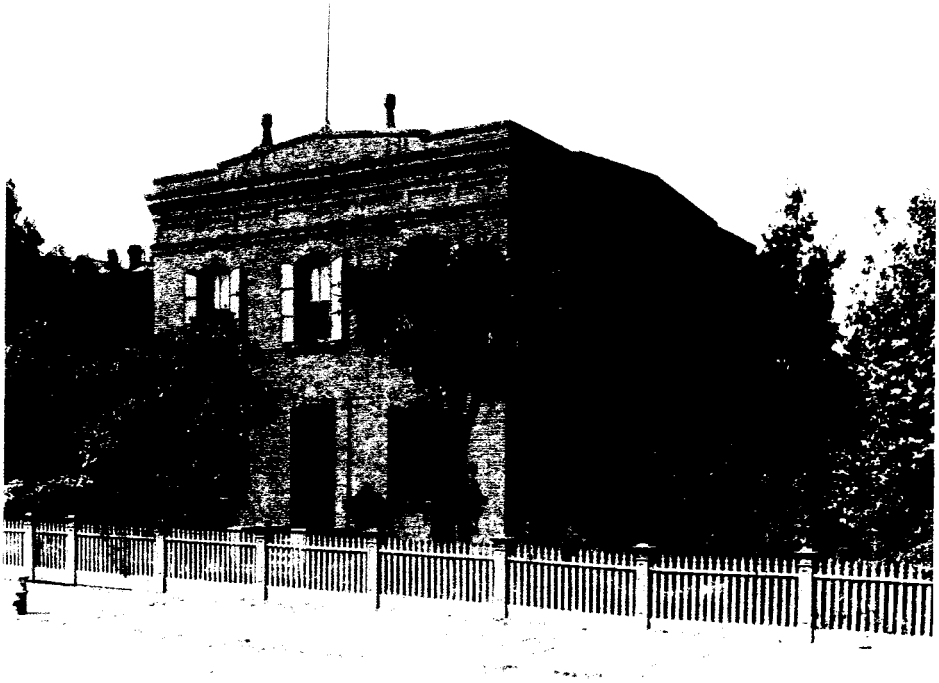

Figure 6. Bancroft Library on Valencia Street, Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

Figure 7. California Hall, circa 1914, Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

Figure 8. Mechanics' Institute, Before the Disaster, Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

Figure 9. Mechanics' Institute, After the Fire,
Courtesy of the California Historical Society

Figure 10. Stanford University's New Library, Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

Figure 11. Santa Rosa Public Library, Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

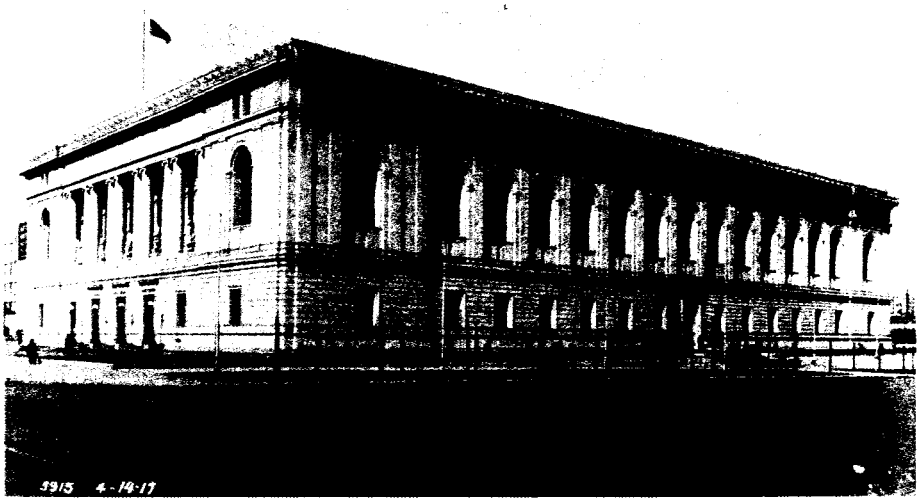

Figure 12. San Francisco Public Library, April 1919, Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

Chapter 4

The Press was Kicking 24 Hours a Day: the Recovery of San Francisco's Print Industries

The presence of so many printers, publishers, authors, and booksellers in San Francisco's history ensured that the printed word had a prominent place in the city's public sphere, and it remained so even at the height of the emergency. The publishers and writers who had spent decades cultivating the city's dependence on print as a means of public communication were the same ones who were in power during the emergency. However, dependence on the printed word was not limited to the ruling class. It extended all through the city, right down to the working classes whose sophisticated use of pamphlets and newspapers led Denis Kearney and the Workingmen's Party of California to prominence in the 1870s (Ethington, 1994), and to the city's minorities who used ethnic newspapers as a means to integrate into the city (Sun, 1998). Print was simply so important in San Francisco's social hierarchy that it became ingrained in governing the city.

Use of print to define the city's administration was so ingrained that San Francisco could not do without it, even as the city burned. Printed orders helped to manage the city in the crisis, in matters ranging from dramatic to mundane. The most notorious of these orders was the proclamation issued by Mayor Eugene Schmitz, stating that police could shoot to kill anyone suspected of looting (Schmitz, 1906 April 18). Schmitz did not simply give the order and ask officers to warn looters before shooting; he had the order printed and posted throughout the city, advertising the potential consequences of illegal activity in an effort to stop looting before it started. Print also held an authoritative

function during the crisis. After the supply of star badges ran out, the city distributed slips of paper to use as special commissions authorizing ordinary citizens to act as special police officers, giving a veneer of respectability to the military discipline imposed on the city (Schmitz, 1906). Even the simple act of entering San Francisco and traveling within it required printed authorization (Schmitz, 1906). The use of print was so pervasive throughout San Francisco society that even ordinary citizens improvised substitutes for the printed accoutrements of business after the fire left the city without many printing shops; instead of printed cards, the city's businessmen made up handwritten slips of paper with the new addresses of their companies to hand out (Henderson, 1906).

Many of the Bay Area's prominent writers escaped the worst effects of the earthquake and fire. Though several famous California writers were staying in the city at the time, they were able to escape with their ability to write intact, and perhaps even inspired by the disaster. Mary Austin fled as the fire approached and spent ten days among the refugees in the park, but upon reaching Berkeley she penned an impressionistic, moving account of the tragedy. Austin's (1907) vignettes about other refugees brought out the spirit of the survivors, calling them large figures of adventure. She noted a sense of self-conscious good form, saying "you gripped the large, essential spirit of the West, the ability to dramatize its own activity, and, while continuing in it, to stand off and be vastly entertained by it. In spite of individual heartsinkings, the San Franciscans during the week never lost the spirited sense of being audience to their own performance" (p. 351-352). Her story was so popular that it was published multiple times.

The tragedy in San Francisco attracted some writers to visit the city from more secure lodgings in the rest of the Bay Area. Gertrude Atherton was staying in Berkeley when the earthquake struck. After an early breakfast, and finding it impossible to write, she took the ferry across the bay to check on friends in San Francisco. It was not until her ferry approached the city that she realized the extent of the damage and the threat of fire. She returned to Berkeley, sharing her ferry eastward with refugees who could not wait to tell their stories to the famous author. That night Atherton watched the city burn from afar. Later she revisited the city in the company of her friend James Phelan, head of the Relief Committee. Atherton's (1932) account of this visit to the ruins has an almost carnival atmosphere, as she describes seeing women cooking in the streets to the delight of crowds of children and buying a bag of candy to eat as she and Phelan strolled along the street.

Jack London and his wife Charmain also visited San Francisco just after the earthquake. After walking around their property in Sonoma county and viewing the wreck of their new barn, the couple heard reports of the fire in the city and were eager to witness the disaster. They made their way by train to the ferry and arrived in San Francisco that night, tramping through the city and noting the progress of the fires. Jack declared, "I'll never write a word about it. What use trying? One could only string big words together, and curse the futility of them" (London, 1923, p. 127). Later London was tempted into writing an article when he returned to Glen Ellen. He found an offer from *Collier's Weekly* waiting for him, asking for 2500 words at 25 cents a word, the best figure he had ever been offered. London's story was published in the May 5 issue,

simply titled "The Story of an Eyewitness."

Poet and librarian Ina Donna Coolbrith was one of the few literary figures to suffer a serious loss in the fire. Her house near Russian Hill was not severely damaged by the earthquake, but it burned on the third day of the firestorm (Keeler, 1906). She lost not only her home, but her 3,000-volume library and the manuscript for her history of literary California. Thankfully, Coolbrith was not without her friends. At the time of the earthquake, she was the librarian for the Bohemian Club, and its only female member. Though the Club was not able to save her house as they did for her neighbor farther up Russian Hill, Robert Louis Stevenson's widow, they could assist her in replacing her home (Rhodehamel, 1973).

The Bohemian Club was determined to help Coolbrith and decided to try to raise enough money to buy her a house. After consulting Getrude Atherton, they chose a committee to hold a benefit in Coolbrith's honor, with an authors' reading and concert at the Van Ness Theater. The list of authors invited to read, most of whom had been members of Coolbrith's literary salon, showed her influence over California's literary circles; it included Atherton herself, Joaquin Miller, Burbank Sterling, Mary Austin, Geraldine Bonner, Charles Warren Stoddard, W. C. Morrow, and Charles Field (Phelan, 1907 October 26). The benefit took place in late 1907 and raised about $500. Though this was not enough to rebuild a house, the Club decided to simply give the money from the benefit to Coolbrith outright (Phelan, 1907 December 15).

Coolbrith also received help from the state's library community. She had worked as the librarian of the Oakland Public Library from 1874-1892 and at the Mercantile Library

from 1898-1899 before working for the Bohemian Club, so Coolbrith was well known and respected by California librarians. A committee formed in Pasadena to come to her assistance, and they sent out a plea to library workers all over the country asking for small donations (James, n.d.). With the combined donations of her library colleagues and her literary friends, Coolbrith was able to rebuild and continue writing.

The nation's interest in the 1906 earthquake and fire was immediate and created extraordinary demand for stories written by San Franciscans and about the city. Jack London was not the only one who was immediately asked to write an article describing the disaster for a national magazine; James Hopper wrote an acclaimed article for *Everybody's* (London, 1921). *Sunset* magazine came out with several earthquake editions, publishing out of the Ferry Building immediately after the disaster. *Sunset* continued to publish an earthquake issue each year for the next three years. The pieces published ranged from accomplished narratives written by professional journalists and authors to the publication of letters written by ordinary San Franciscans. Poems and stories using phoenix imagery abounded in May and June publications, celebrating San Francisco's spirit and determination to rise again. The city seal had featured a phoenix since the fires of 1850 (Armes, 1906), and that metaphor became the rallying cry in publications about the disaster. San Francisco's destruction and rebuilding had become a topic of national importance, and this fueled the city's writers with a dramatic subject and a captivated audience.

While San Francisco's literary culture was not substantially damaged, its important newspapers certainly were. The fire destroyed the offices and printing plants of the city's

most prominent newspapers, but the press made the most remarkable recovery of any part of the city's print culture, not losing even one day of publication to the catastrophe. On the evening of April 17, 1906, Enrico Caruso and Olive Fremstad sang *Carmen* in San Francisco, and the April 18 editions of the papers were full of its praise and descriptions of the cream of San Francisco society that attended the performance. The night before the earthquake epitomized the position San Francisco had been building toward, with the best tenor in the world entertaining the city's cultural and financial elite. The next edition from San Francisco's newspapers could not have been more different. Instead of vying with each other to describe Mrs. Flood's impressive display of jewels and Caruso's voice, the *Call*, *Chronicle,* and *Examiner* published a joint edition four pages long, devoted entirely to the disaster. To do this, they borrowed the printing presses of the *Oakland Tribune* (Quinn, 1940). The stories reported the earthquake and fire, the destruction of the newspaper plants, the flight of the refugees, and the danger to the rest of the city due to fire. This joint effort of three of the city's four main newspapers was remarkable because the city's newspaper plants had been destroyed. News gathering and checking was extremely difficult as the city began to burn and travel within the city was restricted. That most of the city's newspapers did not stop publishing even for a single day meant that news about the earthquake and fire came straight from the city as it suffered. San Francisco's newspapers did not want the first descriptions of the tragedy to come from any other place, not even other journalists in the Bay Area.

The lively competition among San Francisco papers is legendary. After the extraordinary collaborative effort to produce the April 19 morning edition, the

competition reasserted itself. Though William Dargie of the *Tribune* had originally promised that San Francisco's newspapers could jointly produce one morning and one evening edition using his printing plant, William Randolph Hearst struck a new deal with him, that only the *Examiner* would be able to use the *Tribune*'s presses. This act, combined with sensational stories appearing in the *Tribune* about fictitious smallpox epidemics, looting, rape, murder, and tidal waves, caused the *Bulletin* to lash out in an editorial written by Fremont Older, accusing Dargie and the *Tribune* of deliberately trying to profit from the disaster and frighten investors away from San Francisco (1906 April 27). Whatever Dargie's intent was, his actions did not prevent San Francisco's other newspapers from publishing during the crisis. The *Chronicle* and *Bulletin* published their next few issues using the presses of the Oakland *Herald*, and the *Call* and the *News* were printed at the Oakland *Enquirer* (Quinn, 1940). The *Bulletin* had missed only a single day because it was an evening paper and had not been included in the joint morning edition of April 19. While the borrowed presses were running in Oakland, the papers were already working on ways to reestablish themselves in San Francisco. On April 26 the *Chronicle* reported that with machines that had already been ordered and offers of complete plants coming from the East Coast, the morning dailies expected to be publishing from San Francisco again in a matter of weeks ("Great work," 1906 April 26).

Once journalism had been firmly reestablished, the power of the press shaped the way the rest of the world would perceive the earthquake. The importance of the press in rebuilding the city was immediately apparent, and the Citizen's Committee of Fifty that governed the city during the disaster appointed a press agent as one of its first acts on the

day of the earthquake (Citizen's Committee of Fifty, 1906). This established a means of distributing official news reports directly under the control of the city's leaders.

To rebuild, San Francisco would need to collect insurance monies owed, attract capital and investment, and secure relief donations. To accomplish those goals, the city would have to create a very specific image in the minds of potential donors and investors (Fradkin, 2005). The city was ruined, but to collect insurance money and to attract investment, businessmen thought the fire had to be blamed for the damage. Earthquakes were unpredictable and hard to protect against; fire was a familiar threat to cities that could be prevented and controlled. The prevailing attitude was that news about earthquakes would make the West Coast seem unstable and unable to attract business and capital (Branner, 1913). The city's papers began to refer to the disaster as the great fire or as the conflagration. The *Chronicle*, reporting on the meeting of the San Francisco Real Estate Board, wrote of the board's agreement: the calamity should be spoken of as the great fire, not the great earthquake ("Big Structures," 1906).

The strategy did not really work; the insurance companies, reeling from the amounts being claimed, were suspicious. The city leaders' efforts to minimize the effect of the earthquake made them less inclined to believe accounts of damages sent in by claimants. Eastern companies rightly feared the destructive power of earthquakes, and Samuel R. Weed, a New York insurance underwriter speaking at the Pacific Coast Underwriter's Association meeting in January 1908, gently reminded San Francisco that its concern should be rebuilding safely, not making a futile effort to persuade distant underwriters that the fire was the cause of all the damages. He pointed out the fact that

San Francisco seemed to want to forget: even if the fire caused the losses, the earthquake had caused the fires (as cited in Fradkin, 2005). In the months following the earthquake, insurance adjusters descended on the city to evaluate claims, delaying reconstruction efforts.

Having tried to do its part to ensure that that the city got the insurance money needed to rebuild, San Francisco's newspapers were extremely involved with the shape of the recovery. Just before the earthquake, Daniel Burnham, the famed architect who had rebuilt Chicago after its 1871 fire and advocate in the City Beautiful movement, was hired to produce a civic beautification plan for the city. The plan, finished in 1905, required the widening of existing streets and the creation of a new civic center downtown, on property currently owned by businessmen (Burnham, 1971). The earthquake seemed to present the perfect opportunity to put the Burnham plan in place. As James Phelan (1906) put it, "San Francisco has now an opportunity of remedying for all time the defects of its early plan" (p. 3). However, the City Beautiful plan was not to be enacted in rebuilding San Francisco. M. H. de Young led the fight against the plan, assisted by his paper, the *Chronicle*, and the Downtown Businessmen's Association. Other papers quickly followed suit. The businessmen, they reported, were against measures which would sacrifice their property for wider streets. The newspapers also cautioned against a plan that would require extra taxation at a time when San Francisco's resources needed to focus on getting business running again. The *Call* ran multiple editorials defending the rights of private property, and the *Chronicle* summed it up best with the title of its August 9 editorial: "The City Practical Must Come Before the City Beautiful." Under this

pressure, the movement to implement Burnham's plan failed, and the city was rebuilt without changing the street grid.

While the city's newspapers made their quick recovery, the rest of San Francisco's print producers and distributors were trying to do the same. Fortunately for the city's small printing shops and bookstores, a portion of the relief effort was specifically designated to stimulate business growth. Beginning about a month after the earthquake, the Rehabilitation Bureau began to make small grants to businesses trying to reestablish themselves. The grants encouraged the recovery of print institutions; one of the first six grants made was to a bookstore. The applicants for business rehabilitation grants had to be applying to start a business in a trade they already knew, had to present a practical estimate of the lowest cost needed to start, and had to provide references. The grants were invaluable in assisting businesses that did not have insurance, or those whose insurers could only pay part of the claim. Printing shops were among the most common proposed businesses, and 16 printers received grants between October 1906 and April 1907 (Russell Sage Foundation, 1913).

The problems facing businesses trying to make a new start after the fire were wide-ranging. For the city's print shops, the first problem was finding new presses and type. San Francisco boasted 159 working linotype machines before the fire. Afterwards, the only two that had survived the inferno were the two belonging to the *Daily News*, whose staff had buried them in the backyard sandlot, to be recovered later (Murdock, 1933). The second problem was finding the money to rebuild. Insurance companies were not prepared for the wave of claims that came in after the fire. Some of the companies went

bankrupt and did not pay even a small portion of premiums due. Others paid partial premiums, 75% of what they contractually owed (Kahn, 1906). Another problem for both printers and booksellers was the loss of their records. Many businesses lost all record of orders waiting to be filled and outstanding payments and had to depend on their customers to estimate their debt before asking them to repay it.

The solutions to these problems were varied. From the cluster of print shops on Clay Street, San Francisco's printers spread out after the earthquake, setting up temporary offices wherever they could, until they could reestablish their shops in San Francisco. Many of them moved across the bay to Oakland, Berkeley, and Emeryville and reestablished their businesses there (Davis, 1906). Some printers, including the distinguished John Henry Nash, moved completely out of state (Hart, 1985). One small company simply picked up again within San Francisco as soon as it could. The Wale Printing Company found a foot-powered press and a rack of type in a house in the unburnt western section of the city. They moved this press to a basement on the corner of Bush and Fillmore Streets and began printing immediately. Their press, by virtue of being the only one downtown, ran 24 hours a day ("Printers of Bygone Days, "1932).

The problem of finding financing to rebuild was solved in a multitude of ways. Some printers waited for their insurance payments, and some insurance companies paid in full or in part (Kahn, 1906). Others received business grants from the Relief Committee. Still others sold interests in their businesses, taking partners to get capital to rebuild. The dilemma of lost records was also solved in a variety of ways. Those businesses who kept their records in a fireproof safe simply had to wait until passes were

issued to inspect their premises. This occurred about two weeks after the fire, when the safes were cool enough to open (Dinan, 1906). Those who did not have safes had to depend on the honor system, hoping their customers would pay them in full. The Bancroft-Whitney company, which published law books, sent out a circular to lawyers all over the country requesting that customers send them a list of books received and to remit as much of their outstanding balance as possible. From this effort, they eventually received almost $150,000, about 85% of their estimate of what was still due (Murdock, 1933).

The city's bookbinders and booksellers had a recovery similar to its printers. Businesses burned out by the fire moved quickly to try to reestablish themselves, opening temporary offices wherever they could find space while waiting for insurance moneys to rebuild their shops. Once they had established temporary quarters, the businesses advertised their new locations in whatever way they could, sending out flyers to potential customers, taking out ads in the newspapers stating their new addresses and open hours, and even publishing a directory solely for San Francisco businesses that had moved because of the conflagration (Davis, 1906). The Hicks-Judd company, which ran one of the biggest binderies and had customers in libraries all over the state, sent out a flyer just two weeks after the earthquake and fire to assure customers it was prepared to turn out work on short notice. The flyer also announced both its temporary offices and the anticipated opening date of their new plant on July 1 (Hicks-Judd Co., 1906). Booksellers similarly moved quickly to try to assure their customers that they would still be able to supply their needs, ordering books from the East Coast to replace their lost

stock until local printers were producing again (Cunningham, Curtiss + Welch, 1907). Robert Cowan, a bookseller who specialized in Californiana, wrote to the State Library shortly after the earthquake, wanting to reassure one of his customers that though things were grim in the book business, he anticipated a swift recovery (Cowan, 1906). Months later, he was selling books to the State Library again and asking for prompt payment (Cowan, 1907).

As the city of San Francisco was recovering its ability to print and publish, the city, businesses, institutions, and state were realizing the importance of records that had been lost. They began efforts to retrieve them right away. At Stanford, the secretary of the board of trustees reported the loss of most of the university's official records when the Stanford mansion on Nob Hill burned. He suggested several means of recovering them, including searching for duplicate original copies in the homes of trustees who did not live in San Francisco and comparing multiple certified copies (Crothers, n.d.). The San Francisco *Call* pursued a similar strategy, seeking out duplicate copies of their newspaper index to borrow and copy to restore their records. Unfortunately, many of the libraries that had copies of the index were also destroyed in the fire. The State Library was unwilling to give the *Call* their copy but allowed it to be lent so that the newspaper could duplicate the index (Simpson, 1908).

Since San Francisco was a major repository of state records, immediate action had to be taken to recover them. Fortunately, some records were duplicated and copies were sent to Sacramento on a regular basis, such as the records of the State Supreme Court. Records that had not yet been copied and distributed were lost, however, leaving a gap in

the court records from March 3 until after the fire (Gillis, 1906 October 13). Unfortunately, the city could not take advantage of the strategy used by so many others, reconstructing their records from certified copies, because the fire also burned the duplicate records.

The multitude of records burned in the fire made it clear how important they were to the function of the state. When the legislature met in a special session to deal with the earthquake, multiple bills were introduced to restore missing records or work around their absence. One of the first bills introduced when the session opened on June 2 was legislation to restore title to real property to make it easier for San Francisco business owners to rebuild on their land. Other bills added procedures to follow in courts when records were missing, provided money to pay for copying when duplicated records existed, outlined how to reestablish tax assessment rolls, and reissued certifications for teachers and other public servants (California Senate, 1906).

Californians also realized the importance of records to history. The scramble to reconstruct San Francisco's past records for the practical purposes of reestablishing title and administering the law and social services served to remind the state how much it needed records of the present. Multiple attempts were made to document the earthquake for future scholars. On the state level, State Librarian Gillis was determined to create a special collection on the earthquake and fire and asked for donations of personal narratives of the disaster to be sent to the State Library ("Destruction," 1906). The San Francisco Public Library, in the midst of their efforts to rebuild, also collected as much published literature as they could on the subject and published a comprehensive

bibliography in the *Municipal Reports* (1907) to guide future researchers.

The Relief Committee also appointed a history committee to document its work (Citizen's Committee of Fifty, 1906). Henry Morse Stephens, professor of history at the University of California in Berkeley, was active in helping to compile the archives for the history committee (Stephens, 1908). He hired two graduate students to help him, and Stephens's expense accounts show that they traveled to Santa Rosa, Fort Bragg, and San Jose to collect information (Stephens, 1907-1908). Unfortunately for historians, all of this work was lost after Stephens' death. The archive was in his personal possession when he died, and without its custodian, it was transferred first to the University of California Library, then to history committee chairman John Drum, who may have lent it to the *Argonaut*, and the archive disappeared when Drum died (Fradkin, 2005).

The earthquake and fire highlighted the multiple ways that print culture was important to both San Francisco and the state. The city needed its printing industry to bring in taxes. The journalist community and literary figures were invaluable assets in promoting the image of San Francisco rising from the ashes and attracting the capital necessary to rebuild. The loss of records made the state realize how much its history meant to them, and also how vulnerable daily operations of the state are without the documents that record and justify them.

The print industries that recovered quickest were those that depended more on the trained minds of its writers than on equipment. The recovery of the printing presses, binderies, and bookstores required investment and took a little longer. The city's print industry did slowly recover, however, and eventually San Francisco became the center of

a revival of fine presses in the 1920s and 1930s (Hart, 1985). The Bay Area also took action in setting up a statewide typographical union at the end of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915, which acted as a symbol of San Francisco's recovery to the rest of the nation (Higgins, 1918).

Statewide assistance was not required for the recovery of the literary and print industries in San Francisco because the rebuilding was accomplished with insurance funds, private capital, and relief committee money. The speed of the recovery of print producers and distributors in San Francisco meant that the city's place in the statewide culture of print production did not change greatly. Though San Francisco's print industries lost equipment, the combination of insurance and relief funding ensured a speedy recovery for print businesses, even as the city's libraries struggled to rebuild.

Chapter 5

We Propose to Rebuild at Once: Reconstructing California's Libraries

After the disaster, San Francisco's librarians had two types of work to do: repairing structural damage so that library facilities would be safe to open to the public and rebuilding collections consumed by the fire. The Bancroft Library and the Mission and McCreery branches of the San Francisco Public Library resolved the first task quickly, though they solved the problem of safe library buildings each in a different way.

The Bancroft Library, located on Valencia Street, was the largest library to survive the disaster intact. Though Hubert Howe Bancroft sold the collection to the University of California during the autumn of 1905, the library was still housed in Bancroft's self-named history factory building when the earthquake struck. The brick structure sustained heavy damage during the earthquake, but the firestorm halted a few blocks away, sparing the collection. The valuable manuscripts even escaped the dangers of falling masonry because they were already packed ("Destruction," 1906).

The tragedy in the city convinced the University Regents to move the collection of books and manuscripts over to the Berkeley campus immediately. Plans were already afoot in the new Berkeley master campus plan to construct a new building for the university library. When completed, this building would be large enough to also house Bancroft's collections (University of California History Digital Archives, 2000). In the meantime, with the destruction of so many other libraries by fire underlining the importance of moving the collection to a safe and fire-proof building, the university decided to move the collection to California Hall, which was newly built of stone.

Wagons full of books and manuscripts gradually moved the collections to the Ferry Building and across the Bay, beginning in early May. One wagon took about five hours to make the journey (Wheeler, 1906). The transfer was complete by the end of May (California State Library, 1906 June), and the faculty celebrated the arrival of the Bancroft Library as both an asset to research and a promise of the renewal of the city across the Bay (University of California Faculty Club, 1908).

Despite the newness of the building, conditions in California Hall were less than ideal. The collections were moved into the attic, where sunlight beating down on the roof and through the skylights made the library very hot, even when the vents were opened. H.L. Leupp (1912), associate librarian at the University Library, later recalled that the conditions were hot enough to fry an egg on the skylight that served as part of the attic floor, exposing newspaper bundles and irreplaceable manuscripts to embrittling heat because the Bancroft Library had no budget to build or move elsewhere on campus.

The Mission Branch of the San Francisco Public Library also moved shortly after the disaster. The branch was located outside the fire zone in a rented building at the time of the earthquake. After the fire, the owners of the building realized that they could receive much more rent because the building had suffered only a small amount of physical damage. The owners notified the library trustees that they were raising the rent, but the library could not pay the higher price and was forced to move. The Post Office immediately rented the building at the higher price, eager to take possession as soon as the library moved out. The Mission Branch was closed for several weeks, until the trustees found an available lot to rent nearby. The trustees convinced the lot's owner to

hastily erect a building and moved the books in as quickly as possible so that the branch could reopen (Clark, 1906).

In contrast with the swift removal of the Bancroft Library and the Mission Branch of the Public Library, the San Francisco Public Library trustees repaired the McCreery Branch using money from a private donation. The earthquake had caused significant structural damage to the building, so even though it was one of the few library buildings to escape the fire, the branch closed for several weeks while the building was repaired. One of the walls had to be taken down and rebuilt, and other portions of the building had to be strengthened. The same benefactor who had originally donated the money to build the branch provided money to rebuild it, enabling work to begin almost immediately. Andrew B. McCreery was a prominent San Francisco citizen, a member of the Bohemian Club, and a longtime supporter of the public library in San Francisco (Harrison, 1906). McCreery funded the construction of the branch in 1904, and he funded the repairs so quickly that the branch was able to reopen in July and functioned as the headquarters of the library system until 1908 (Watson, 1908).

Other branches of the public library were not as lucky. James Phelan, who had donated money for the branch named after him and was a longtime advocate of public libraries in San Francisco, did not come forward with further donations to rebuild his branch. After the earthquake, he acted as the head of the relief effort's finance committee and spent the next few years worrying about the recovery of the city as a whole. Phelan also accepted an appointment to the library board of trustees in late 1906, and as a trustee

he focused on providing a building for the main library, reflecting his new interest in rebuilding the city as a whole. However, with no donations forthcoming, the Phelan branch was not rebuilt (Harrison, 1906).

The city had many more examples of fire damage than simple structural damage, and one of the most successful recoveries from fire damage was that of the Mechanics'-Mercantile Library. At the time of the catastrophe, the Mechanics' Institute was in an extremely good position. The Institute had many subscribing members, owned its library and chess room building on Post Street, owned a block of land with the Mechanics' Pavilion on it, and had just absorbed the Mercantile Library and made its distinguished liberal arts volumes part of their own collection. Two weeks prior to the earthquake, the institute increased the amount of insurance on their Pavilion property by $15,000, bringing their total up to $129,995, spread out over 30 different companies (Mead, 1907). Since the sum was split, no single company had to pay a large claim when the Library was destroyed, which hastened the insurance settlements.

This insurance and the existence of $34,000 in the bank allowed the Mechanics' Institute to begin rebuilding almost immediately. The foresight shown by the directors of this society was amazing; not only had they insured their buildings and collections adequately, but the Secretary of the Institute placed the most important records of the society in a safe deposit vault at Crocker National Bank as soon as the city began to burn on the morning of April 18. The institute also kept other records in fire resistant safes in the library building. Thus, though the library and the Mechanics' Pavilion both burned, the institute was able to resume business as soon as the safes were cool enough to open

(Mead, 1907).

The trustees of the institute met on May 8 and determined to erect a temporary building on the corner of the former Pavilion site. They did not want to remove any of the rubble or build on the Post Street site until the insurance companies settled the institute's claims. Construction began on June 4 and though both building material and workers were hard to get, the new building was opened in August, only 4 months after the fire. The Mechanics' Institute librarian, Frederick Teggart, was present at the first meeting of the trustees in May and was immediately and energetically involved in rebuilding and in finding books for the new collection. Apart from about 2,000 volumes that were at members' homes at the time of the fire, the entire collection burned. Teggart determined that the first acquisitions for the library should be those most needed by the city as it rebuilt: volumes on construction, engineering, and architecture. He outlined a plan at the meeting to obtain these books from book dealers and other libraries and received authorization to spend $5,000 at once to make book purchases (Mead, 1907). Once Teggart established this useful core, the collecting focus could change to include more general material.

Though the Institute lost about a thousand members who either moved away from San Francisco or could not conveniently use the library in its new location, the membership remained strong throughout the first year after the earthquake and the institute began collecting dues with little trouble as soon as the library opened again. This faithful support, the insurance money, and the cash in the bank allowed the Institute to buy books at a furious rate, and by June 1907 their collection was over 17,000 volumes

(Mead, 1907). This was the quickest and most successful social library recovery because the institute had the resources not only to rebuild their building quickly, but also an active librarian who had a new collection development plan ready just weeks after the earthquake.

The Bohemian Club, another long-standing and moneyed San Francisco institution, was burned in the conflagration. The club building was located at the northeast corner of Post Street and Grant Street, a central downtown location which placed it deep in the burned district. It took only five days for the club to find a temporary home, in a private residence on Pacific Avenue. The club members then scoured the city for a suitable building and found one at the southwest corner of Sacramento and Octavia Streets in June (Bohemian Club, 1907). This feat is remarkable considering the shortage of undamaged buildings and the increased cost of renting them. The club reestablished its traditional comforts in the new location, including the wine room, card room, art, and library. They decorated the walls with the few paintings saved by members from the old building as the fire approached. The library collection, one of the club's most valuable possessions, was restored through gifts from the club's members, especially that of General L. H. Foote, who donated over 300 volumes (Bohemian Club, 1907a). Each year thereafter, the club's annual report included an honor roll of members who donated books to the library.

Like the Mechanic's Institute, the money to repair the building and collection came from the club membership and from insurance. In the case of the Bohemian Club, the membership included some of the wealthiest men in the city. They bought bonds and donated funds and an impressive Club House was rebuilt over the next few years at a cost

of over $300,000 (Bohemian Club, 1910). Insurance claims also helped the club to rebuild, but though the insurance companies quickly paid most of the club's claims, the policies held by the club were only enough to cover about half of its monetary loss (Bohemian Club, 1907a).

Many of San Francisco's social libraries were not so fortunate. The societies which maintained them lost their membership bases as people moved away or focused their resources on personal survival rather than scholarly pursuits. The loss of these small social libraries was a blow to the diversity of San Francisco's collections. One of these small society libraries found a home outside the city. The Microscopical Society, for example, was a small society of scientifically minded citizens who pooled their financial resources to maintain a library and collection of microscopes. Most of their 2,500 volumes burned in the fire, but the remainder of the collection was given to the University of California when the society disbanded because most of its assets were destroyed. Some small libraries were able to begin rebuilding their collections through gifts. The Academy of Sciences Library received a total of 3000 volumes through multiple small gifts from private donors, the Reading Room for the Blind started over with a measly 10 books, and the Chamber of Commerce Library began rebuilding its collections when its librarian went out actively soliciting gifts of books (California State Library, 1906 December).

Other libraries and societies simply disappeared. The December edition of *News Notes* contains a long litany of former San Francisco libraries with the statement of their former holdings and a report of "no news items received" (California State Library, 1906

December, p. 446-449). Some societies destroyed by the disaster were not able to recover immediately, but eventually managed to reopen. The Society of California Pioneers found a temporary location on O'Farrell Street shortly after the earthquake but was unable to begin rebuilding its collection until the society found permanent quarters. The trustees of the Ligue Nationale Française were determined to start a new library but could not begin until their insurance claims were paid (California State Library, 1906 December). The California Historical Society Library was not re-started until 1922, when C. Templeton Crocker donated the financial means to sustain the Society until it collected enough membership dues to support itself (California Historical Society, 2006).

The main building of the San Francisco Public Library, in the northeast wing of city hall, underwent both structural and fire damage. The fire gutted the structure, and when assistant librarian Joy Lichtenstein inspected the building, it had burned so bare that he could not find even a part of a book to take as a souvenir ("Destruction," 1906). Since the city of San Francisco had simultaneously lost its City Hall, Main Library, and Hall of Records among many other municipal buildings, it was clear from the first that the city would be unlikely to provide enough money to build a new library. Even if the city were to make rebuilding the library a priority, nothing significant remained on which to levy taxes ("Destruction," 1906). Fortunately, there was already a plan in the works to build a library separate from City Hall.

Though the library had moved into city hall only a few years before, in 1899, it quickly outgrew the space alloted to it. Library trustees began a campaign to build a separate library building in 1901 and they succeeded in getting a bond measure passed in

1903 to fund the purchase of land and the new building (Lilienthal, 1903). The site was selected in early 1905, centrally located in block 73 of the Western Addition ("Library site," 1905). This bond money provided the seed to begin planning the new main library building after the earthquake, but it quickly became clear that the bond money would not be enough on its own. The library moved into the reinforced McCreery Branch as a temporary headquarters and set about planning a new main library building on a plot of land downtown.

Unfortunately, the lot already purchased for the planned library building was a little too desirable for the library's good. Right in the center of the city, the plot of land was placed right where the city wanted to rebuild its City Hall and Civic Center. The library trustees had to go to California Superior Court to prevent the Board of Supervisors from building on their land (Boyd, 1907). It quickly became clear to the trustees that the pace of planning a grand building designed to fit the needs of the library for many years was too slow for the circumstances. The library needed a presence downtown, and they did not want to leave their hard-won lot vacant during the long construction process. Thus, the trustees decided to erect a small temporary building on a corner of the lot to act as the main library while constructing the new more permanent facility. This temporary main library building cost $40,000, paid for out of the library's general fund (Watson, 1908). It opened in 1908 and functioned as the main library until 1917, when the new main library opened. The grand design and more stringent construction requirements for the new main library required more money than the bond had provided, so the new building was finally completed with the aid of a Carnegie grant (Wiley, 1996). Carnegie originally promised

the grant of $750,000 in 1901, half for a main library and half for branches (Carnegie, 1901).

Since San Francisco had not made any progress other than purchasing the land, all of the grant was still available after the earthquake. James Phelan had helped apply for the original grant in 1901 as mayor of San Francisco. In 1910, he wrote in his new role of library trustee to Carnegie asking that the grant be renewed. He described the city's recovery, reminded Carnegie of his gift offer, and stated that San Francisco had finally complied with the conditions of the original grant by passing a bond measure and purchasing the land for the new library. Phelan also emphasized that only two districts of the city had permanent branches, since the other branches had been destroyed by the fire, but proposed spending $500,000 on the main library and only $250,000 on the branches (Phelan, 1910).

In response to this letter, Carnegie renewed the offer (Carnegie, 1910), but expressed a strong preference that more money be spent on the branches. The original grant was given with the intent that the money be split evenly, and Carnegie had decided in the intervening years not to fund central city libraries. He preferred to grant money for branches, for easier patron access. Since San Francisco's 1901 grant had included provision for the central library, he would honor it (Bertram, 1910). After Cargnegie confirmed the gift, some opposition arose in San Francisco to accepting his money. Some citizens complained that they did not want dirty money generated by a steel trust and that the conditions of the gift and maintaining the library were too expensive for the recovering city ("Carnegie gift," 1912). After a public campaign, a citywide referendum

was held in 1912, and San Francisco voted to accept the gift, 56,682 votes for acceptance and 27,482 against. With the support of this referendum, the city supervisors agreed to accept the gift. In deference to Carnegie's preference, they began to construct the branches first, while planning the central library building (Culliman, 1912).

Though planning, fundraising, and political infighting kept the trustees from breaking ground for a new main library for years, the work of rebuilding the public library's collections began immediately. In its efforts to regain its collections and its stature, the San Francisco Public Library solicited and accepted donations from a multitude of sources. Immediately following the earthquake, librarian George T. Clark sent out pleas to libraries outside of San Francisco, asking for the donation of duplicates to help rebuild the public library's collection (Clark, 1906). This request was not unprecedented, since the San Francisco Public Library already had formed relationships before the earthquake to loan books and trade duplicates with other major libraries in California, such as the libraries at Stanford and the University of California and the State Library in Sacramento (Clark, 1905b). When Clark asked for help, he directed it to the same institutions that the San Francisco Public Library had done similar favors for in the past. He got an immediate response. The State Library, University of California, Stanford, and the Library of Congress all donated duplicates from their collection in order to begin replacing the public library's lost periodical sets (Clark, 1906). Stanford also sold needed sets to San Francisco's library at reduced prices (Dodge, 1906a).

Other libraries from all over the United States who had no previous ties to the San Francisco Public Library also rose to the occasion. The Boston Atheneum, New England

Historic-Genealogical Society, and Brooklyn Public Library donated several cases of books each, and the Cleveland Public Library donated money for the assistance of library staff. Learned societies such as the American Anthropological Society and the American Philosophical Society donated full runs of their journals. Private citizens also responded to the public library's loss by donating their personal book collections. Most of these donations came from Californians, but some also came from out of state. For instance, Reginald Pelham Bolton of New York donated his collection of 150 volumes on the Civil War. Monetary donations came in from all over the country, from individuals as well as institutions (Clark, 1906). From this diverse blend of donors and the tax monies still alloted to the library by the city, San Francisco Public Library was able to rebuild in piecemeal the broad base of their collection.

In the years following the earthquake, the club libraries as a group lost their primacy in the San Francisco library community because most of them could not rebuild as quickly. Thanks to the swift work of Clark and his colleagues, the San Francisco Public Library built its collection up quickly. Perhaps more importantly, they reopened as many branches as possible soon after the earthquake. Instead of waiting years to get the ideal or grand buildings, the system built only what was immediately feasible and necessary to open quickly to the public. By doing this, they were establishing themselves in the minds of the uprooted refugees as the places to count on to provide books. From July 1906 to June 1907, the system circulated 349,646 volumes. This number is less than half of the 830,000 volumes circulated in the fiscal year ending in 1905, but it is remarkable when you consider that the 40,000 volumes available after the disaster was approximately 30%

of the former holdings of 128,300 volumes (Clark, 1907).

Stanford's recovery, like that of the San Francisco's main library, took many years. In spite of overcrowding that had caused Jane Stanford to commission a new library building a few years before the earthquake, the Stanford Library did not get its permanent home until 1919. For 13 years, the collections had to remain in the Thomas Welton Stanford Library, which had been deemed too small in 1903 (Bender, 1958). The new library building that had fallen in the earthquake was one of the last structures Jane Stanford built on the campus. After six years of financial difficulty following Leland Stanford's death in 1893, Jane began to build up the campus at a feverish pace. Between 1899 and 1905, she built monumental, massive stone structures on the outer quadrangle that asserted the grandeur of the new university and claimed its place in academe, including the Church, Memorial Arch, Gymnasium, and additions to the Museum. Just as with the church, arch, gymnasium, and museum, Mrs. Stanford carefully oversaw the grand design of the new library, even though she was traveling in Australia as the architect completed the structural plans and construction began. After selecting a design, she appointed Clinton Day as the architect for the new building and set up a $350,000 fund specifically for the purpose of library construction, appointing her brother Charles Lathrop and the university trustees to administer the money (Stanford, 1904). Jane Stanford also insisted on reviewing the plans from afar. Her feisty letters to the architect from Melbourne show her level of involvement with the design, as she dictated the number of windows and columns she wanted for the library façade, and reminded Day that the second story of the library should duplicate Mr. Stanford's personal library in

their San Francisco home (Stanford, 1903).

Jane Stanford's determination to create a grand campus as a memorial to her son and husband and her attention to the appearance of the buildings led to resentment on the part of faculty, who felt starved for funds during the pre-earthquake construction spree. This resentment had a direct effect on the way the university rebuilt. The day after the earthquake, visiting professor William James of Harvard wrote to Stanford President David Starr Jordan, stating that the faculty were afraid of a return to the "Stone Age" of building. He pointed out that Mrs. Stanford had encumbered university funds for years with spending on the monumental structures now in ruins on the outer quadrangle and suggested that only the buildings needed for instruction merited repairs (James, 1906). Jordan evidently agreed, because the university selected only a few buildings for repair that summer, and the new library and gymnasium were left as ruins to serve as earthquake memorials while the campus focused on building the academic program (Jordan, 1906).

The university's new focus on academics instead of buildings did not mean that the library was forgotten. The old Thomas Welton Stanford Library was still standing, and it was among the structures deemed vital enough to instruction to warrant immediate repairs over the summer. The cracks and walls were patched enough to open the library when the university reopened in the fall (Dodge, 1907). Though the old library was crowded, it was at least adequate, and the collections had a home until better quarters could be provided. The earthquake harmed the collections very little, though the university did lose to the fire 450 volumes that were at the Hicks-Judd bindery in San Francisco. Fortunately, the university carried insurance on the books while at the bindery,

so the volumes could be replaced (Jordan, 1906, May 8).

The next step that President Jordan took for the library was to hire a new librarian. He began to send out inquiries in early 1907 and accepted the advice of Theodore Koch, librarian at the University of Michigan, to hire someone who knew library buildings as well as administration, since the university would eventually need a new library facility (Koch, 1907). The man selected was George T. Clark, whose energies had just set the San Francisco Public Library on the path to rebuilding. Clark plunged into his new job with energy. He began to expand the collection rapidly, accessioning more than twice as many books in the 1907/1908 school year than his predecessors had in any of the previous years. He determined that the library needed more permanent repairs and fireproofing. Clark arranged for the work to take place as soon as the 1908 spring semester ended (Clark, 1908b). The repairs were finished in October and new steel book stacks installed by December. Once these physical improvements were done, Clark worked to establish intellectual control over the library. He conducted a complete inventory of the collections. Then Clark reorganized the library administration and reached out to his users, writing a handbook explaining the organization of the library and promoting class use of library services (Clark, 1910).

The earthquake enabled one positive circumstance for the Stanford Library. Bay Area book collectors impoverished by the loss of their businesses in San Francisco began to sell their private libraries as a source of funds. The university was the ideal purchaser. One such collector was John Doyle of Menlo Park, who offered to sell his collection on French and Spanish colonies to Stanford. He needed the income, but wanted his

collection to remain as a whole and be usefully studied (Jordan, 1906 August 13). Stanford also provided a suitable home for one of the few libraries to survive both the earthquake and fire. The Cooper Medical College Library survived the disaster, but did not remain on its own for long. The college donated its library to Stanford, and their collection of 35,000 volumes became Lane Medical Library, providing the core of study materials for Stanford's medical program. Upon taking possession of this library, Clark observed that much work would be required in order to make the collection useable. He recommended that Stanford keep the collection's former librarian in order to help with cataloging the volumes (Rexford, 1906).

Once Clark finished repairing and reorganizing the campus library and adding the Lane Medical Library to Stanford's collections, he began to think of building a new library structure to replace the one destroyed by the earthquake. In 1913, the board of trustees agreed to construct a new library building, and Clark went on a tour of the principal libraries on the East Coast to make sure that the best aspects of library design would be included in Stanford's new building (Langenberg, 1982). The trustees selected the famed San Francisco architectural firm of Bakewell and Brown, and ground was broken in 1917. The library was designed to last for 50 years at a cost of $500,000 (Jordan, 1917). The library was completed in early 1919 and starting on July 7 the collections were moved. Since Stanford had changed its academic calendar to the quarter system, the move had to be accomplished with as little disruption as possible of services for the students taking classes that summer. The library closed for a single week in order to move its collection, and reopened on Monday, July 14, with the card catalog, reference

collection, periodicals and course reserves. The rest of the collection was moved in gradually while the library was open to patrons (Clark, 1919). Stanford had finally moved its library out of the building deemed too small back in 1903 and had an active and competent librarian at the head of its collections.

Further up the fault line, Santa Rosa speedily rebuilt its library with the generous aid of the Carnegie Corporation. The beautiful new building that crumpled in the earthquake had cost $20,000, paid for by a Carnegie grant issued in 1902 (Miller, 1943). Construction was completed in 1904 on a lot paid for by $5,000 of donations from citizens of the town. Librarian Adele Barnett lost no time in assessing the damage. Though the library's stone tower had crashed into the California Room, she picked through the wreckage to try to salvage any books she could and was able to save the library's set of the *Santa Rosa Press Democrat.* The rest of the California Room collection was crushed (Barnett, 1906). She reported that the remainder of the collections were battered but intact, cataloged the needed structural repairs, and came up with an accurate estimate of $6,900 needed to get her library back into shape. As the basement was the only part of the building that was structurally sound, she moved the books downstairs and reopened the library as a reading room to the public on May 19, with eight open hours every day, including Sunday (California State Library, 1906 June). Even before that temporary solution was in place, the library trustees lost no time in requesting the necessary repair funds from Andrew Carnegie. Their request emphasized the total destruction of all of the town's public buildings. The trustees plainly stated that with the tax base depreciated and so many public buildings in need of replacing, the city

could not repair the library for years unless it received assistance from Carnegie (McMeans, 1906). Santa Rosa received the promise of full funding in July (California State Library, 1906 July). Reconstruction did not begin until September because through a mistake the town's governing board rejected all of the bids and they had to be resubmitted to the town on August 27 (California State Library, 1906 September). However, once the construction started it proceeded quickly, and by mid-October the *Santa Rosa Republican* was reporting the hiring of an assistant librarian to help Barnett circulate the collections for home use (California State Library, 1906 November).

Other communities that had been recent recipients of Carnegie libraries received additional grants to make repairs. Redwood City determined that its 1904 building could be salvaged and moved the collections to an old school building in the meantime. They announced their repair grant of $6,000 in the August 1906 *News Notes*, a month after Santa Rosa's success. Hayward also received its original grant in 1904 and took a new grant of $1,750 for repairs, and Los Gatos, whose original grant was given in 1902, drew $400 in additional Carnegie funds (Held, 1973). San Mateo's library was ruined in the earthquake, but since the city had just received a Carnegie grant, they decided to proceed with construction of the new library rather than attempting to repair the old building. The city changed the construction plans because of the earthquake and gathered new bids to construct the library of reinforced concrete instead of brick (Kirkbridge, 1906). Other Carnegie libraries, such as those of Palo Alto and Santa Cruz, were not damaged so severely and paid for repairs out of their general funds. San Jose's library did sustain severe damage. After seeing reports that Santa Rosa and Redwood City had received

Carnegie funds to rebuild, the library board wrote to Carnegie asking for $15,000 to repair the earthquake damage and make improvements. The trustees wanted to add several rooms to the library while making repairs, including a reference room, children's department, rest room, a meeting room for the trustees, and larger stacks (Kennedy, 1906). This was the only request for earthquake repair money that Carnegie denied. The large amount and the request for additional improvements must have had an effect on the outcome, since Carnegie's reply simply stated that he considered his original grant of $50,000 ample for a city the size of San Jose (Bertram, 1906).

The only sections of the San Francisco library community that were able to rebuild were those that had a steady source of income. The energy of the librarian greatly affected the scale of repairs completed and the way that collections were rebuilt. Some library collections were simply dependent on gifts and had little control over the manner in which their collections were restored. Other libraries actively solicited specific subjects from donors or found the money to purchase volumes according to a collection plan. The common factor in the most complete recoveries was the creativity of the librarian in asking for help from likely benefactors.

Libraries completed small structural repairs quickly and locally, usually paid for out of the library's general funds, rather than any sort of special appropriation from their towns. Large-scale repairs either were accomplished quickly using funds from private philanthropists, such as Andrew B. McCreery and Andrew Carnegie, or they dragged out interminably while library trustees sought funding. Libraries requiring complete rebuilding were most successful if they had a strong membership, like the Mechanics'

Institute and the Bohemian Club, and if they rebuilt on a moderate scale. The two libraries that built grand, large-scale replacements for their lost structures, San Francisco Main Library and Stanford University, had to wait for years before the plans were approved and money found.

While the Bay Area recovered, the rest of the California library world was not idle. The Los Angeles Public Library, which was the largest and fastest growing library in Southern California, had been steadily increasing its collections and its standing in the library world (Dole, 1905). Upon the news that San Francisco's libraries had been destroyed, Los Angeles librarian Charles Lummis saw an opportunity to make his collection even better. He publicly announced "that the destruction of San Francisco libraries has placed on the Los Angeles library the responsibility and duty of becoming the great reference library of the Pacific Coast," and on these grounds he asked the city for an enormous extra appropriation of $150,000 to expand the reference collection (Los Angeles, 1906, p. 291).

The State Library's immediate reaction to the disaster was to send out surveys to document the damage. After several years of promoting California libraries and encouraging the establishment of new libraries all over the state, Librarian Gillis was naturally eager to survey the damage and include it in his plans for further expansions of library services. Underneath the bold heading "What assistance, if any, can the California State Library render?" the survey asked about the library's holdings before the earthquake, insurance, damage to collections and to facilities, injury and death to employees, and whether the library owned or rented its buildings (Alameda Public

Library, 1906, p. 1). The State Library collated this information and published it in the first issue of *News Notes*, a new publication designed to strengthen communication among California libraries. This issue provided a succinct picture of the devastation wrought by the earthquake and fire, and it also established the *News Notes* as an essential place to get library news as librarians up and down the fault line struggled to find ways to reestablish themselves. After taking care of this statewide administrative responsibility, Gillis turned to his own collection. Determined that the State Library should be the place to document the disaster with a special collection, he published an appeal asking for correspondence received in the eastern states describing the experiences of survivors ("Destruction," 1906).

After having established a central information exchange by publishing the *News Notes* and offering assistance when he received specific requests, Gillis proceeded with the State Library's organizing role in library expansion. The library organizers, Bertha Kumli and Mabel Prentiss, continued their travels throughout the state, and as a result they laid the legal groundwork for many new municipal libraries in 1906 (Held, 1973). The State Library not only provided the encouragement to start these new libraries, it also served as a repository of knowledge where new library workers could seek advice. In December of 1906, the State Library published a list of resources in *News Notes* for the new librarian that included suggestions of where to purchase quality supplies, from periodical subscriptions to furniture, and recommended bindery services in the state, both located in San Francisco. The State Library continued the municipal library organizers program until 1909, when Kumli and Prentiss had canvassed the state so well that most

towns large enough to easily support a library had already established one. At that point, the focus shifted to counties. Gillis designed the county library system to ensure even library access around the state. If every county had a public library available, even small remote communities could gain library services through the county. Gillis proposed a new library bill that authorized the counties to set up a library and creatively suggested a new way to set up services, by contracting through an existing municipal library rather than creating a completely new institution. This law also stipulated that the person in charge of services had to be a certified librarian (Held, 1973).

With demand for certified and professionally trained librarians increasing, it became more important to establish a permanent library school in California. In the northern part of the state, the summer training class at the University of California continued sporadically, depending on available finances, until the university established a year-long library school curriculum in 1918. To serve the southern part of the state, the Los Angeles Public Library opened its training course to employees of other libraries, establishing it as a full-year training course in 1914. Riverside Public Library also founded a library training school, beginning in 1912, that emphasized project methods rather than classroom theory. Gillis also made an unsuccessful attempt at establishing a State Library School from 1913-1920, but the legislature would not financially support his plan (Held, 1973). California was left with three library schools, one northern and two southern.

After the earthquake, the pace of libraries being founded in California accelerated. This was due at least partly to the standardization of grants in the Carnegie program.

Beginning in 1899, Carnegie began to provide more grants per year, assisted by the refinements to the program put in place by his secretary, James Bertram (Van Slyck, 1995). In California, the combination of expert library organizers, population growth, and Carnegie funds led to an explosion of library foundings between 1906 and 1917, funding about 100 more libraries throughout the state (Miller, 1943). When the program ended in 1917, San Francisco was finally building a new main library but the balance of library power had already changed.

The catastrophe in San Francisco disrupted the assistance its libraries had been giving to smaller communities throughout the state that did not even have library services set up yet (Parrott, 1910). Since this assistance was no longer available, California libraries began purchasing their books elsewhere. Though San Francisco had been famous for publishing since the 1850s, new western publications were being printed in other parts of the state, such as *Out West* magazine, which began publishing in Los Angeles in the 1890s. For East Coast and foreign periodical subscriptions, eastern distributors could offer them cheaply (Gillis, 1906c).

San Francisco and the Bay Area made a remarkably quick recovery in terms of getting limited library services established, but lack of money handicapped long-term recovery and the lost collections could not be replaced. The city of San Francisco could not decide whether to rebuild itself as a City Beautiful under Burnham's plan or as a city of business. In the end, it tried to do both by building a glimmering international exposition in 1915 before the city's civic center was finished. The exhibition was a commercialization of the cultural image San Francisco had long tried to project through

its libraries.

While San Francisco was busy rebuilding, trends already in motion in California libraries accelerated, establishing many more libraries throughout the state and cementing the importance of the State Library and the Los Angeles Public Library. As a result, the state now has a much more evenly distributed system of library power, with southern California libraries and the State Library taking a larger role. San Francisco's recovery may have been slowed by the fact that the dynamic librarians of the city's two largest and most important libraries, who got the recovery off to such a good start, both moved to university libraries. Libraries were largely on their own to find money and rebuild; there was no overarching relief program for San Francisco's libraries as there was for businesses.

A full recovery for San Francisco libraries occurred more slowly than other California libraries damaged by the earthquake, primarily because of the scale of damage and the city's use of its relief money on other civic buildings. Due to lack of resources, San Francisco libraries rebuilt long after the other components of the city's print culture. Despite the generous assistance of eastern libraries who donated books and money for staff and Andrew Carnegie's grant for a new main library, San Francisco was not able to regain all its former library prestige. Instead, California's smaller libraries established relationships with other print institutions in Sacramento, Los Angeles, and on the East Coast. Using these new sources of books and library expertise and Carnegie grants, California's small public libraries grew more independent from the former leadership in San Francisco.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The development of San Francisco's library and print culture took a relatively short time, fueled by the population explosion of the Gold Rush. It was the city's position as the port nearest the gold fields that concentrated the wealth and population needed to establish San Francisco's first printing presses and libraries. The print culture that developed during the Gold Rush was multifaceted. Each aspect of San Francisco's print culture supported the others to create a strong community of writers, publishers, librarians and readers.

San Francisco's advantage in wealth and population size over the rest of California was already beginning to subside before the earthquake. As the population spread throughout the state, and small towns in Southern California began to grow, it was natural that San Francisco lost some of the prominence it had as the state's imperial city. The earthquake and fire came at a point in California history perfectly placed to hasten this process. The earthquake and fire did not ruin San Francisco, since they did not destroy the majority of the city's citizens. The disaster did erase the material advantages of 50 years of building that made the city of San Francisco so impressive before it burned. Also, the recovery of each aspect of print culture occurred at a different pace, undoing the supportive relationships among the city's print institutions.

For San Francisco's libraries, the earthquake damage was dramatic and widespread. However, even in cases with fairly significant structural damage, like the McCreery Branch of the San Francisco Public Library or the Bancroft Library, the collections were

able to survive with a minimum of damage. The firestorms and the city's inability to check them due to inadequate water delivery systems caused most of the city's library damage in the 1906 disaster.

The city's real loss was not its library buildings, though those certainly took a long time to rebuild. The loss of its diverse and unique collections did far more harm to San Francisco's libraries because they were the source of San Francisco's fame. The city did not lose librarians, it lost its small specialized libraries and irreplaceable records of the state's beginnings. Though library structures could be repaired and rebuilt and temporary services could be established until new library facilities were finished, San Francisco's municipal records, pioneer diaries, and specialized book collections could not be replaced. In effect, the 1906 disaster erased the biggest advantage that the city had over the rest of the state's libraries: San Francisco's libraries rebuilt their collections almost from scratch. At the turn of the century, San Francisco had excellent librarians, but other libraries in the state also had innovative and energetic library workers. Fifty years of collecting had given the city more books than anywhere else in California, and it was this advantage that disappeared in the fire. As more municipal public libraries were founded all over the state, library services were no longer the sole province of the state's largest city.

Libraries elsewhere in California did not suffer damage as dramatic as San Francisco's because most other cities did not have to face firestorms. Those towns that did have fires (San Jose, Santa Rosa and Fort Bragg) were able to halt the fires before they destroyed the libraries. Collection damage reported outside of San Francisco was

generally limited to books that were in San Francisco during the fire, especially books at the Hicks-Judd bindery. Fortunately, volumes at the bindery were small parts of any particular library's collection, and because they were frequently periodicals waiting for binding, libraries could purchase replacements from the publishers. The exception to this general rule was Santa Rosa, where the library tower fell into the California Room and crushed the books. However, even in this case the damage was limited to part of the general collection, and Adele Barnett saved from the rubble the one irreplaceable periodical set shelved there, the library's complete set of back issues of the town's newspaper. With few losses of collections to deal with, structural damage was the main obstacle that California's libraries had to overcome. Librarians outside San Francisco were able to focus on reestablishing service and finding money for repairs. With those tasks accomplished librarians quickly moved on.

California librarians solved the problem of finding money for structural repairs in different ways. The severity of damage to library buildings correlates to their proximity to the fault. In the cases where damage was slight, libraries paid for repairs out of their own general funds, without needing to make a special fundraising effort. Many of the most seriously damaged libraries were the Bay Area's new Carnegie libraries, and fortunately the Carnegie Corporation was generously willing to pay for repairs. After rebuilding, these libraries carried on with circulating their undamaged collections. The significantly damaged libraries that were able to quickly rebuild were the small ones. Large and grand buildings, such as those at Stanford University and the Main Library in San Francisco, took over a decade to rebuild, forcing their libraries to keep services going

in temporary quarters.

The disaster's effect on literary culture in California was much less dramatic. None of California's prominent writers lost their lives or their ability to write, and the catastrophe inspired stirring prose from San Francisco's literary figures and journalists. The universal interest in the tragedy even gave them the opportunity to publish in nationwide magazines and reach a broader audience. With the exception of Ina Coolbrith, whose house burned, none of the Bay Area writers had to move.

The earthquake and fire did cause drastic damage to the city's other print producers and distributors. Just as with the libraries, the city's printers and booksellers clustered downtown and the fire ruined their businesses. The recovery of the printers depended on finding money to acquire new buildings and new machines. Unlike some of the library collections, printing presses were available with relative ease from manufacturers on the East Coast and could be shipped via railroad for quick delivery. Booksellers were also able to replace their stock by ordering from the East and by purchasing new western publications as soon as the printing shops were running again. With the equipment and bookstock readily available for purchase, the main obstacle for businesses reestablishing themselves was money. Some businesses were large enough to sustain the losses, others took on partners to provide the needed cash, some depended on their insurance payments, and some received grants from the Relief Committee. Using a combination of these sources of funding, most of San Francisco's print businesses were able to reestablish themselves in the year following the quake.

Each of the different components of San Francisco's print culture recovered from

the damage caused by the earthquake and fire at a different pace. Literary culture and journalism made the quickest and most thorough recoveries because their main assets were in the minds of their writers and were not physical things that could be destroyed. The newspapers' linotype machines, while they did represent a significant investment, were replaceable, and the strong connections of city leaders with the newspaper industry ensured that journalism would play a part in the recovery of the city. The small printing and bookselling businesses recovered next, since they were able to replace both their machines and their buildings fairly quickly after receiving their insurance settlements or grants. Of all of the constituents of the city's print culture, libraries recovered the slowest and least completely, because they were dependent on collections that were hard to replace and the state, cities, and relief committee made no special provisions so that they could rebuild.

The most successful library recoveries were those that had sources of income separate from the city's taxes. The Carnegie Corporation provided the funds in some cases, while subscribers rebuilt the Mechanics' Institute. Since the leaders of the relief effort were mostly businessmen, they took an economic approach to rebuilding the city that set new priorities for the city as it rebuilt. Though James Phelan was long an advocate and benefactor of libraries before the earthquake, he wholly devoted himself to rebuilding the city's tax base after the disaster, not its ravaged libraries. Before the catastrophe, Phelan had devoted himself to increasing the glory and culture of the city, and, afterwards, to increasing its ability to do business. When the City Beautiful movement represented by the Burnham plan gave way to the city's practical rebuilding

needs, it took the ideas that gave rise to San Francisco's library supremacy with it.

Since the various components of San Francisco's print culture recovered at different speeds, the relative status of each part within California changed independently. San Francisco's literary culture was not negatively affected by the earthquake, so it changed very little in respect to the rest of the state. San Francisco has continued to be a literary and cultural center within California throughout the twentieth century. San Francisco's printing industry suffered damage but recovered quickly. The speed of printing's recovery meant that San Francisco continued to be a center recognized for its printing and was the site of a revival of fine printing in the 20s and 30s. The earthquake's effects were most drastically felt in the California library world. Because of the loss of collections and the time it took to rebuild, the movements already begun by Gillis and libraries in Southern California had come into full flower by the time that San Francisco's libraries had rebuilt. The spread of library power throughout California meant that San Francisco was no longer dominant; it was one strong library community among many.

While California's libraries were expanding outward from the cities into smaller towns, so were library services in the rest of the nation. Though California's county library program was innovative, the state was following an established example set by the East in founding library schools. The advent of library education all over the country and the professionalization of librarianship meant that libraries were quickly spreading, because they had impassioned and well-trained advocates. The wave of library openings occasioned by Carnegie's generosity meant that library services were available more widely in small communities all over the United States. Seen in this context, the shift

away from San Francisco within the California library world makes sense as part of a larger national trend. The earthquake accelerated a process already in motion by quickly reducing the city's relative importance within the state.

National level influences aided recovery in each component part of San Francisco's print culture. Curiously, this help led to a diminished importance of the city within California and the United States as a whole. National magazines published stories written by Bay Area literati, which meant that Western publishers were no longer the only outlet for California writers. San Francisco's newspapers and literary journals were originally founded to ensure that western readers could discuss local events. Eastern manufacturers of printing presses and the railroad made it possible for San Francisco's publishers to begin printing again months after the disaster, forestalling any need for local industry to produce the needed machines. Andrew Carnegie's money helped rebuild San Francisco's library system at the same time that his generosity enabled other California communities to build their own libraries. With so many libraries spread throughout the state, San Francisco's relative importance in the library world diminished. In each case, the outside influence that helped San Francisco to rebuild also made resources available to the rest of California and the other Pacific states as part of a nationwide trend of cultural growth. Other California communities used the energy and money that San Francisco spent in simply rebuilding to establish their own publishers and libraries and to participate in a new, statewide network of print institutions.

San Francisco's uneven print recovery from the earthquake and fire unites the analyses of print and library historians and demonstrates the complicated relationships

among print industries and institutions. Journalism's active role in rebuilding the city and reframing public debate reinforces book historians such as Eisenstein (1979), Febvre (2000), and Darnton's (1984) assertions of the power of print to change society around it. The rapid spread of libraries throughout California while San Francisco recovered reflects nationwide movements of cultural philanthropy analyzed by both library and cultural historians (Van Slyck, 1995; Horowitz, 1976), and the general trend towards professional librarianship (Garrison, 1979; Wiegand 1986).

After the next big earthquake, the problems librarians will have to face are the same as those faced by the libraries that sustained structural damage in 1906: determining the structural integrity of our facilities, moving the collections quickly to safety when necessary, and finding the funds to finance repairs and quickly reestablish our role in the community. The lesson that the California's current print institutions should draw from the past is that they must be creative in looking for sources of money to finance their rebirth; in the face of the 1906 disaster, the relief effort focused on rebuilding the businesses that provided the tax base, not the city's cultural institutions.

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Appendix A

Summary of Libraries Damaged by the 1906 Earthquake

Libraries in San Francisco

Institution	Established	Address	Volumes	Damages
Astronomical Society of the Pacific Library	1899	308 California	1400	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
Bancroft Library	1860	1548 Valencia	60000	Building damaged, but collection is intact.
B'nai B'rith Library	1876	121 Eddy	12000	Destroyed by fire. Librarian would like a position in some library.
Bohemian Club Library	1872	130 Post	5000	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
California Academy of Sciences Library	1853	819 Market	12000	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
California State Mining Bureau Library	1880	Ferry Building	5000	Cracked plastering.
Chamber of Commerce Library	1851	California and Montgomery	2000	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
Cooper Medical College Library	1895	Sacramento and Webster	7400	No damage to building, 43 books lost at Hicks-Judd Bindery.
Ligue Nationale Francaise	1877	Geary and Stockton	25000	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
Mechanics-Mercantile Library	1853	31 Post	200000	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
Microscopical Society Library	1872	In burned district	2500	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
St. Ignatius College Library	1856	Van Ness and Hayes	50000	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
San Francisco County Medical Society Library		Ellis and Mason	1600	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
San Francisco Reading Room for the Blind	1902	In burned district	400	Building and collection destroyed by fire.

Institution	Established	Address	Volumes	Damages
San Francisco Law Library		City Hall	35000	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
San Francisco Public Libary	1879	Main: City Hall Branch 1: 2664 Mission McCreery Branch: 16th and Market Branch 3: 1505 Powell Branch 4: 254 4th Ave. Phelan Branch: 4th and Clary Branch 6:2435 Sacramento St.	128300	All branches except McCreery and Mission destroyed. About 40,000 volumes remain.
San Francisco Verein Library	1853	347 Turk	4400	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
Society of California Pioneers Library		4th Street and Mission		Building and collection destroyed by fire.
State Normal School Library	1899	Powell and Clay	8500	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
Supreme Court Library	1868	825 Market	17000	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
Sutro Library		In storage at two locations	250000	75,000 volumes in warehouse at Pine and Battery Sts. burned. 125,000 volumes at Montgomery and Washington survived.
Theosophical Library	1885		1000	Building and collection destroyed by fire.
University Club Library	1891	722 Sutter		Building and collection destroyed by fire.
Wells-Fargo Library	1890	2nd and Mission		Building and collection destroyed by fire.
YMCA Library	1876	Ellis and Mason	2500	Building and collection destroyed by fire.

Libraries damaged outside San Francisco

Institution	Location	Damage
Berkeley Free Public Library	Berkeley, Alameda Co.	Building damaged, about $1,000
University of California Library	Berkeley, Alameda Co.	Buildings fine, but 1007 volumes lost at the Hicks-Judd Bindery
Hayward Free Public Library	Hayward, Alameda Co.	Building damaged, $1750
Livermore Free Public Library	Livermore, Alameda Co.	Fallen chimney
Niles Free Library	Niles, Alameda Co.	Building damaged, $20
Oakland Free Public Library	Oakland, Alameda Co.	Building damaged, about $3000, a few books in SF were lost
Colusa Free Public Library	Colusa, Colusa Co.	Lost 34 volumes at Hicks-Judd
Martinez Free Reading-Room and Library	Martinez, Contra Costa Co.	$1400 building damage, 50 volumes lost at Hicks-Judd
Ferndale Free Public Library	Ferndale, Humboldt Co.	Building damaged, about $300
Pomona College Library	Claremont, Los Angeles Co.	Plastering cracked
Goodman Free Public Library	Napa, Napa Co.	Building damaged slightly
St. Helena Free Public Library	St. Helena, Napa Co.	100 volumes lost at Hicks-Judd
San Juan Free Public Library	San Juan, San Benito Co.	Ceiling plaster cracked
Stockton Free Public Library	Stockton, San Joaquin Co.	Cracked plastering
San Mateo Free Public Library	San Mateo, San Mateo Co.	Building condemned
Redwood City Free Library	Redwood City, San Mateo Co.	Building seriously damaged, temporarily housed in old school
Los Gatos Free Public Library	Los Gatos, Santa Clara Co.	Building slightly damaged
Mountain View Public Library	Mountain View, Santa Clara Co.	Building destroyed, books intact
Lick Observatory Library	Mount Hamilton, Santa Clara Co.	6 volumes lost at Hicks-Judd
Palo Alto Free Public Library	Palo Alto, Santa Clara Co.	Building damaged $80
Stanford University Library	Palo Alto, Santa Clara Co.	450 volumes lost at Hicks-Judd old library building damaged, new library building wrecked
State Normal School Library	San Jose, Santa Clara Co.	$69,000 building damage, a few books slightly damaged
Santa Cruz Free Public Library	Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz Co.	Slight damage to building
Healdsburg Free Public Library	Healdsburg, Sonoma Co.	Ceiling plaster cracked
Santa Rosa Free Public Library	Santa Rosa, Sonoma Co.	New building wrecked

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